Life of
Shah Waliyullah

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PREFACE

Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm, popularly known as Walīyullāh, was born in A.D. 1702 in a small village named Pulth in the Muzaffarnagar district, United Provinces (India), and died in Delhi in A.D. 1763. A research on his teachings under the title *Teachings of Shāh Walīyullāh* by the present author has already been published in the Sindhi, Urdu and English languages.

The late Dr S.M. Ikram who had founded the Shah Waliyullah Academy had once earnestly requested the present writer in one of the Academy's meetings for the preparation of a book on the life of Shāh Walīyullāh. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, the present publisher, had also made repeated requests to this author for the same work when the research mentioned above was in his press for publication. The author, however, had politely declined to undertake that work at that time. Now when he has become free from translating some important works of Shāh Walīyullāh into the Sindhi and English languages, he himself felt the necessity of writing on the life of Shāh Walīyullāh.

The present work is also a research in which the information given about his life is mainly gathered from his writings. What chiefly characterises it is the collection of data in relation to the dates of some of his compositions. This research was first prepared in the Sindhi language and published by the Shah Waliyullah Academy, Hyderabad, in 1973. It is hoped its English version with a few additions will largely meet the requirements of the readers in this direction.

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G.N. JALBANI

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Chapter 1

HIS BIRTH, GROWTH, LINEAGE AND EDUCATION

Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm, generally known as Walīyullāh, was born at the break of dawn on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl 1114/1702 in the vicinity of Delhi. Some astrologers, through calculations based on their observation of the conjunction of the stars, had drawn the conclusion that the year of his birth was auspicious and his horoscope was at the height of its perfection.[1]

Shāh Walīyullāh himself was of opinion that the stars do influence the life of man on earth to some extent, but he at the same time states that the real power behind it is the Almighty God. The fact cannot, however, be denied that changes in the atmosphere caused by the movement of the heavenly bodies affect some aspects of the life of the earthly creatures. God has placed certain properties in them which are to appear and leave their effect anyhow. For example, the sun is hot and the effect of its heat in the earth is visible. It has come in the Tradition that when the Pleiades appear, the impending calamity is averted.[2]

Besides, some of his friends worked out, by the *Abjad* method, the name 'Aẓīm-ud-Dīn as the date of his birth. His parents as well as many other pious persons had dreamt, before and after his birth, some signs indicative of his appearance and rise to eminence.[3]

Shāh Walīyullāh narrates that one day his father told him that while he was yet unborn, a poor woman came to him and begged for a loaf of bread. He gave her a half of it. Thereupon

1. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf Fī Tarjimat-il-'Abd-iḍ-Ḍa'īf.*
2. *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah,* I, 18, 25; *at-Tafhīmāt-ul-Ilāhīyah,* I, 130; II, 147.
3. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf.* By the *Abjad* method of calculation, the year of his birth comes to 1115 which is very near to the original one.

he (Shāh Walīyullāh) said to him that it was not fair that one who had asked for it in the name of God should be given only a half of it. Hearing this from him, he passed on to her the remaining half as well.[4]

Narrating further he says that one night when his parents, after they had finished their *Tahajjud* prayer (prayer repeated during the night), raised their hands for invocation (*Du'ā'*), to their surprise, they saw two more hands raised between theirs for it (invocation). When he was seven years old, he also one night joined his parents in that prayer. After the prayer was over he raised his hands. Seeing this his father exclaimed that these were the very hands which he had once seen raised for invocation before when his son was yet to be born.[5]

Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq made a collection of the merits (*Manāqib*) of Shāh Walīyullāh and of the true dreams his friends had seen in connection with his birth, and named that collection *al-Qaul al-Jamīl Fī Manāqib-i-Walī*. This collection is not traceable and seems to have been lost.[6]

He was very anxious to collect the data about his spiritual guide from wherever it was available. In this respect, he wrote to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd requesting him to pass on all the letters of his master which he had addressed to him.[7]

He has mentioned in that collection a statement of Shāh Walīyullāh to the effect that, all the sons he had been blessed with would live a virtuous life. Two more sons would be born who would be linked with him through their mother's side.

4. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 179 ; *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 64.
5. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 64.
6. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf* ; *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI.
7. See article by Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad Farīd Amrohawī in the July 1965 issue of *Al-Raḥīm*, a monthly journal published by Shah Waliyullah Academy, Hyderabad. Here below is given a relevant passage of the letter of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq which he wrote to Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasanī Rā'i Barailvī :

- - - دیگر التماس آنکه خطی که آنحضرت میان صاحب بایشان نوشتند نقل آن برداشته باین فقیر عنایت فرمایند و هم چنین نقل خطوط سابقه نیز مرحمت فرمایند و درین باب تغافل تجویز نه نمایند -

They, however, would migrate to the Holy Cities and stay there serving Islam and the community. Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, in reference to that statement, says that by those two sons were meant the two sons of the daughter of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz. They were Maulānā Muḥammad Isḥāq and Maulānā Muḥammad Ya'qūb who had left for Ḥaramain where they spent their life in the study and teaching of the Tradition.[8]

Shāh Walīyullāh's maternal grandfather states that when his daughter's son (Shāh Walīyullāh) was born he once took him in his lap. In consequence, he felt that his relation to God had increased considerably. He found himself dyed with the dye of that relation and started progressing steadily in that state of his relation to God.[9]

The name Walīyullāh was given to him by his father most probably because of his having perceived in him the manifest signs of his friendship with God. At one place, Shāh Walīyullāh states that by his name Walīyullāh is meant a person for whose outward and inward God had become responsible. He further states that his having been given such a name had the approval of even heavenly causes. Thus, he was the effect of those causes.[10]

His other name is Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad. The cause of giving this name to him was that when once his father paid a visit to the shrine of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhtiyār Kākī, his spirit appeared to him and, while giving him the good news of the birth of a son, advised him to name him after him. When he was born, this advice escaped the memory of his father. After some days when he remembered the words of Bakhtiyār Kākī, he gave him that name as well. This is the reason why in the beginning of his books he always mentions his name as Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-

8. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq had taken great interest in the preparation of a fair copy of *al-Muṣaffā*, the commentary in Persian on *al-Muwaṭṭā'*. His other work is *Sharḥ Du'ā' al-I'tiṣām*. He died in 1187/1773.

9. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 179. Shaikh Muḥammad of Pulth was his maternal grandfather.

10. Ibid., II, 148, 154.

Raḥīm known as Walīyullāh.[11]

It may be remembered that it was in the sixtieth year of his life that it was revealed to Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm that a son would be born to him who was destined to reach a high rank and achieve true renown. As time passed the thought of a second marriage occurred to his mind. When Shaikh Muḥammad came to know of that, he eagerly wished that it could be his daughter to be blessed with such a child. As soon as the news of his second marriage at this advanced age spread, the people of the town began to criticise him in contempt. When Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm heard of their talking ill of him, he made it clear to them that he would live for some years to come and some male children would be born to him. This is what actually happened. He was blessed with two sons from his second wife, one was named Walīyullāh and the other Ahlullāh. He survived for seventeen years after that marriage. His son Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was, however, born to him from his first wife.[12]

Shāh Walīyullāh's lineage is traced to Ḥaḍrat 'Umar by father's side and to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī by mother's side. This is the reason why he in the beginning of some of his works mentions his name as Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm al-'Umarī.[13]

Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn Muftī was the first person from his forefathers who came to India and stayed in Ruhtak. Those were the times of the beginning of the Islamic government in the subcontinent. The town Ruhtak, situated between Hansi and Delhi,

11. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 45-46 ; *Tafhīmāt*, II, 154.

12. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 63-64. [Shaikh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abil-Faḍl Pulthī was a mystic and a man of learning. He studied under the scholars of Nārnūl, such as, Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad, and then under his brother Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. He died on 8 Jumād-ul-Ukhrā 1125. Ahlullāh was a great divine and a learned person. Some of his works are : *Tafsīr-ul-Qur'ān 'alā Sabīl-ul-Īmān* ; *Mukhtaṣar fil-'Aqā'id was-Sulūk wal-Ṭibb* ; *Mukhtaṣar fil-Fiqh* ; *Mukhtaṣar Hidāyat-ul-Fiqh*. Shāh Walīyullāh has mentioned the name of his brother in one of his letters addressed to Mirza Maẓhar Jān Jānān. See *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI ; *Kalimāt-i-Ṭayyibāt*, p. 159.]

13. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 38 ; *al-Imdād Fī Ma'āthir-il-Ajdād*.

was in those days very populous and prosperous, but with the passage of time it lost its glory, and, at present, is no more heard of. It was in existence during the lifetime of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm who once visited it, of which a reference is found in *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, where the life account of his elder brother, Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad, is given. Its surrounding habitations were destroyed by Durg Das in those days.[14] He descended from the noble Quraish family. Islam began to spread in the country slowly and gradually through his efforts.[15]

Shāh Walīyullāh was born, as has been mentioned before, in a small village named Pulth. This village had remained a centre of learning and a rendezvous of the scholars for many years. While giving an account of the life of his maternal grandfather Shaikh Muḥammad Pulthī, he has made a mention of this village in particular. There he writes that once robbers attacked their village and spread terror among the inhabitants. Their attacks were frequent and every time they returned laden with loot and plunder. Seeing this he turned to God with prayer and his prayer was accepted. This was how the danger was averted.[16]

Shāh Waliyullāh was still a child when the signs of his brilliant future became visible in him. He was fair of face and had good features. His habits were good and pleasing. He disliked show and artificiality. By nature and behaviour he looked different from common children. His father paid proper attention to his training and education. When he was five years old, he was admitted in the primary school of his village. At the age of seven years, he was prepared for offering prayer five times a day and made ready to keep the fasts of the month of Ramaḍān. His circumcision also took place in that very year. Giving his own

14. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 48, 92, 156:
میفرمودند (شیخ عبدالرحیم) در بلده رهتک روزی بتفرج برآمدم ---- و نیز ذکر میکردند که در اوائل چون من از رهتک بخدمت ایشان (شیخ ابوالرضا) آمدم ---- و نیز ذکر میکردند (شیخ مظفر رهتکی) در واقع درگ داس چون نواحی رهتک همه تاراج گشت ----

15. *Al-Imdād Fī Ma'āthir-il-Ajdād.*

16. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 152 ; *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 176.

account, he further states that, so far as he remembers, he had finished the reading of the Holy Qur'ān by that time; and had, besides, started reading some books and treatises on religion written in Persian.[17]

He relates that one day he went with his friends to a garden for entertainment. On return, his father asked him as to what work he had done that day which might have profited him here and in the Hereafter. He also advised him to be careful to see that no day passed but that he had done some act of virtue and goodness therein. He was so much impressed by these words of his father, he says, that he made up his mind to do one or the other good work every day which might benefit him in both the worlds.[18]

Writing further he says that when he became ten years old he finished *Sharḥ Mullā Jāmī*. At the age of fifteen, he was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle, Shaikh 'Ubaidullāh b. Muḥammad Pulthī. When the parents of the daughter desired to postpone the marriage because of the lack of means to meet the marriage expenses, his father wrote to them that the hurry carried a deep secret behind. Thus, it should take place without any delay. That secret became disclosed after some time. Soon after the marriage, the mother of the girl passed away. Soon after her death, her maternal grandmother also died. Her death was immediately followed by the death of Shaikh Fakhr-ul-'Ālam, the son of his paternal uncle, Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad. After this the mother of his elder brother, Shaikh Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, also expired. Hardly some time passed after the death of these relatives that his father fell ill and died. Seeing all these happenings it became known to all that if this marriage had not taken place at that time, then there was hardly any possibility of its taking place in the near future.[19]

In his autobiography Shāh Wulīyullāh writes that when he reached the age of fifteen he swore an oath of allegiance (*Bai'ah*) at the hands of his father. He then engaged himself actively in

17. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*; *al-Khair al-Kathīr*, p. 71 :

--- بعد ان كان حكيما معصوما وجيها محيطا للنشآت متغلغلا فى الجمال ----

18. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 64.

19. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*.

observing the Ṣūfī practices as were prescribed by the *Naqshbandī* Order in particular. In a very short time, he acquired the qualifications required for following the path of Ṣūfīs. The terms and conditions needed for entitling one for receiving and wearing the Ṣūfī rug (*khirqah*) were duly fulfilled by him both in theory and practice. In short, he completed the course of all the sciences then current. It appears from this that he by that time had shifted to Delhi where he used to attend regularly the lectures delivered by his father on the exegesis of the Qur'ān in his Madrassah.[20]

Within fifteen years Shāh Walīyullāh acquired enough knowledge from his father who was very kind and affectionate to him. He had taught him many wonderful sciences (*Ma'ārif*). One day, a little before his death, he told him that he eagerly wished to pour into his heart all the knowledge he possessed all at once. This is the reason why Shāh Walīyullāh had taken pains and suffered hardships for the acquisition of knowledge. His anxiety all the time had been to gain proficiency in religious sciences. In this res ect, he states that when he was born his maternal grandfather turned towards him with particular attention, with the result that he came to know of the real position he was to achieve one day.[21]

Shāh Walīyullāh had only one son named Muḥammad from his first wife. It is for this reason that he was also called Abū Muḥammad. There are varying reports about his life, but, it seems, he died at a young age and left no issue behind. Probably in reference to him, he has mentioned somewhere that once one of his children fell ill and he on that account was very much worried. One day while offering the midday prayer he saw death descend-

20. Ibid. Naqshband, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bahā'-ud-Dīn al-Bukhārī (717-791/1317-1389), was the founder of the Naqshbandī Order. His name, which signifies "Painter" is interpreted as "drawing incomparable pictures of the Divine Science" or, more mystically, as "holding the form of real perfection in the heart".]

21. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 52-53 ; *Tafhīmāt*, II, 82.

ing on him. As a result, the child died the following night.[22]

He was blessed with four sons and one daughter named Amat-ul-'Azīz from his second wife whom he married after the death of his first wife. Her name was Bī-Irādah and she was the daughter of Sayyid Thanā'ullāh of the village Sonipat which is at a distance of some forty miles to the west of Delhi. His daughter was given in marriage to Maulawī Muḥammad Fā'iq son of Maulawī Muḥammad 'Āshiq, son of Shāh 'Abdullāh, son of Shaikh Muḥammad of Pulth. His four sons were Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz who was the eldermost, followed by Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn, who was followed by Shāh 'Abd-ul-Qādir, after whom came Shāh 'Abd-ul-Ghanī.[23]

Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz was born in 1159/1746 and died at the age of seventy-nine in 1238/1823. He faithfully carried the mission of his father and rendered invaluable service in promoting the cause of Islam. His works are in good number. One of them is his commentary of the first and one-fourth of the second and of last two pārahs of the Qur'ān. *Ujjālah-i-Nāfi'ah*, *Tuḥfah-i-Ithnā' 'Asharīyah* and *Bustān-ul-Muḥaddithīn* are some to be cited from the list of his books. A small treatise entitled *Asrār-ul-Maḥabbat* prepared by Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn is very important in the sense that only Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā had written on this subject. He in that treatise has shown that it is love which pervades and rules all the existing things. He was born in 1163/1749 and died in 1233/1818 at the age of seventy. His other notable works are the literal translation of the Qur'ān into Urdu and *Damgh-ul-Bāṭil*. Shāh 'Abd-ul-Qādir was born in 1167/1754 and died in 1230/1815 when he was sixty-three years old. His celebrated work is the Urdu translation of the Holy Qur'ān with very useful brief commentary notes here and there known as *Mūḍiḥ-i-Qur'ān*. Shāh 'Abd-ul-Ghanī, who died at an early age

22. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 66 :

--- و منها ان بعض اولادی کان مریضا و کان خاطری مشغولا به فبینما انا اصلی الظهر شاهدت موته سنزل فمات فی لیلة -

23. Refer to article published in the May 1966 issue of *Al-Raḥīm*. Here extracts are given from the book *Faḍā'il-i-'Azīziyah* written by 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Ḍiyā'.

before all his three elder brothers, was a man of learning and piety. Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd was his son who fell a martyr at Bālākot in 1246/1831 in his fight against the Sikhs.

Shāh Walīyullāh received the education of all the sciences in vogue from his father. He had finished the study of *Mishkāt* during that period of fifteen years. Only a part of it relating to "Kitāb-ul-Bai'" up to "Kitāb-ul-Adab" remained unfinished. When this much from the course was done, he was permitted to teach *Mishkāt*.[24]

His father engaged him in the study of *Tafsīr Baiḍāwī*. When he finished a part of it, he was so much pleased that he arranged a grand feast to which all were invited, common as well as special. It was indeed a great honour for him (Shāh Walīyullāh) to receive permission from his father to teach *Tafsīr Baiḍāwī* to others. In this way, the formal ceremony of his *Dastārbandī* became complete.[25]

Under the guidance of his father he finished *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* from beginning up to "Kitāb-uṭ-Ṭahārat". Similarly, he read and studied *Shamā'il-un-Nabī* completely with him in the presence of his students. In exegesis he studied a part of *Baiḍāwī* and a portion of *Tafsīr Madārak*.[26]

24. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf. Mishkāt-ul-Maṣābīḥ* was compiled by Khaṭīb 'Umarī Tabrīzī.

25. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf. Dastārbandī* is a ceremony in which the teacher puts a turban on the head of his student who has finished the prescribed course of study.

26. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī was a celebrated commentator of the Holy Qur'ān. He died in 685/1282. His chief work *'Anwār-ul-Tanzīl wa Asrār-ul-Ta'wīl* was based on *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī but considerably amplified from other sources. It is used as a text-book in the Islamic schools and, therefore, many scholars have written super-commentaries on it for the benefit of their pupils.

Shamā'il-un-Nabī is written by Imām Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad Tirmidhī. He is the author of one of the canonical collections of Traditions. His *Shamā'il* is the collection of Traditions concerning the person and the character of the Holy Prophet. He died in 279/892.

The writer of *Madārak-ul-Tanzīl wa Ḥaqā'iq-ul-Ta'wīl* is Ḥāfiẓ-ud-Dīn 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, Abul-Barakāt Nasafī. He was an important Ḥanafī legist and theologian. He died in 710/1310. His *tafsīr* is known as *Tafsīr-i-Nasafī*.

The great favour he was blessed with was, he says, his going regularly to the Madrassah established by his father for the teaching of the Holy Qur'ān. There he used to receive useful instructions from him which greatly helped him towards understanding the meanings of the Holy Qur'ān, the occasion of the revelation of its verses and the way of referring the different commentaries. Then, in privacy, he was seriously thinking over them, and by so doing, he achieved a great success.[27]

In jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), he nearly finished the study of *Sharḥ-i-Wiqāyah* and *Hidāyah*.[28]

In the principles of jurisprudence, he read Ḥusāmī, *Tauḍīḥ* and *Talwīḥ*.[29]

In logic, he studied the whole of *Sharḥ-i-Shamsīyah* and a portion from *Sharḥ-i-Muṭāli'*.[30]

In scholasticism, he finished *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id* completely and some portion from Khayālī and *Sharḥ-i-Mawāqif*.[31]

27. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif.*

28. The author of *Wiqāyat-ur-Riwāyah Fī Masā'il-il-Hidāyah* is Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī. He died in 800/1397. The author of *al-Hidāyat fil-Furū'i* is Burhān-ud-Dīn Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī. He died in 592/1196.

29. The author of *Ḥusāmī* is Ḥusām-ud-Dīn al-Akhsīkathī, while that of *Tauḍīḥ* is Ṣadr-ush-Sharī'ah al-Aṣghar ('Ubaidullāh-ul-Bukhārī). He died in 747/1346. The writer of *Talwīḥ* is 'Allāmah Sa'd-ud-Dīn Taftāzānī. He died in 793/1391.

30. The original name of this book is *Taḥrīr-ul-Qawā'id-il-Manṭaqiyah Fī Sharḥ-i-Risālat-i-Shamsiyah* and is known by the name of *ar-Risālat-ul-Quṭbiyah*. The author of *ar-Risālat-ush-Shamsiyah Fil-Qawā'id-il-Manṭaqīyah* is Najm-ud-Dīn al-Kātibī. He died in 682/1276.

The author of *Muṭāli'-ul-Anwār Fil-Ḥikmah wal-Manṭiq* is Sirāj-ud-Dīn Armawī. He died in 682/1283.

The author of *Sharḥ-i-Muṭāli'* is Quṭb-ud-Dīn Rāzī. He died in 766/1364. The original name of the book is *Lawāmi'-ul-Asrār Fī Sharḥ Muṭāli'-ul-Anwār*.

31. The text of *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id* is written by 'Allāmah Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Najm-ud-Dīn Nasafī (d. 537/1142). The *Sharḥ* is prepared by 'Allāmah Taftāzānī. The marginal notes on it are the work of 'Allāmah Aḥmad Khayālī. This work is known as *Khayālī*. *Al-Mawāqif Fī 'Ilm-il-Kalām* is written by 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Ījī. He died in 756/1355.

In *Sulūk* (Mysticism) he read a part of *'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif*, some treatises on the Naqshbandī Order and a portion from some books relating to it.[32]

Regarding the science of realities (*'Ilm-ul-Ḥaqā'iq*), *Sharḥ-i-Rubā'īyāt*, *Lawā'iḥ*, *Muqaddimah-i-Sharḥ-i-Lama'āt* and the *Muqaddimah-i-Naqd-un-Nuṣūṣ* remained under his study.[33]

In connection with the properties of the Names (Attributes) of God and the verses, he went through the collection made by his father in relation to this science.

So far as the science of medicine is concerned, he read *Mūjaz-ul-Qānūn*.[34]

In philosophy (*'Ilm-ul-Ḥikmah*), he studied *Sharḥ-i-Hidāyat-ul-Ḥikmah* and some literature relating to that science.[35]

Concerning grammar he read *Kāfiyah* and the commentary of Mullā Jāmī on it.[36]

In the science of the theory of literary style, he read a major part of *Muṭawwal* and that portion of *Mukhtaṣar-ul-Ma'ānī* which contained marginal notes by Mallāzah.[37]

In geometry and arithmatic, he went through some relevant small books.

32. *'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif* is the work of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī. He died in 631/1234.

33. The author of *Rubā'iyāt* and *Lawā'iḥ* is Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Jāmī. He died in 817/1414. The author of *Lama'āt* is Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī. The author of *Naqd-un-Nuṣūṣ* is Ibn-ul-'Arabī. It is a summary of his *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam*. *Muqaddimah-i-Naqd-un-Nuṣūṣ* is the work of Maulānā Jāmī.

34. *Mūjaz-ul-Qānūn* is the summary of Ibn Sīnā's well-known *Qānūn*. The author of this book is 'Alā'-ud-Dīn b. Nafīs. He died in 696/1288.

35. The author of *Ḥidāyat-ul-Ḥikmah* is Abharī. He died in 659/1261.

36. *Al-Kāfi fin-Naḥv* is the work of Ibn Ḥājib. He died in 646/1248.

37. *Muṭawwal* and *Mukhtaṣar-ul-Ma'āni* are an abridgment of *Talkhīṣ-ul-Miftāḥ*. The author of this book is 'Allāmah Qazwīnī. *Muṭawwal* is the detailed commentary while *Mukhtaṣar* is the summarised commentary. The author of both these commentaries is Sa'd-ud-Dīn Taftāzānī He died in 793/1391. [It may be remembered that *'Ilm-ul-Ma'āni* is the science whereby is known the manner of adapting language to the requirement of the cases.]

Shāh Walīyullāh relates that when he finished the study of these books and went deeper in them, his outlook turned broader and then with little effort and attention he found this field of sciences wide enough.[38]

At the age of fifteen, his father fell ill and died. During his illness he had given permission to Shāh Walīyullāh for accepting the oath of allegiance from the aspiring disciples and had said these words repeatedly: "His [Walīyullāh's] hand is like my hand." His father was very kind and thoroughly satisfied with him and this he considered as a symbol of Divine favour on him. The attention which he used to pay to him was unusually greater. He had never seen, he says, any father or any teacher and guide as affectionate to his children and students as his father was to him.[39]

It is narrated that one day after the midday prayer Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm turned towards him and asked him for paper and pen. He then advised him to be mindful of this couplet, as God had inspired him with it all of a sudden, and it was the sign of His great favour on them. That couplet is: [40]

"O, my son, if you want to work on the path of Truth,
Then beware of injuring the feelings of man;
In the path of *Ṭarīqat*, mercy is the main principle;
This is the saying of the best of mankind."

Citing another instance Shāh Walīyullāh writes that when he heard from some of his friends that his father's name in the

38. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf.*

39. Ibid. [Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was born in 1054/1644. He received education at the hands of his father Shaikh Wajīh-ud-Dīn and his elder brother Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad. He read books on principles and scholasticism under his kind teacher Mīr Zāhid Hirawī By nature, he was a mystic through and through. He believed in the doctrine of the Unity of Being and remembered the Traditions with their authorities by heart. He died in 1131/1719.]

40. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p-83:

گر تو راهی حق بخواهی ای پسر — خاطر کس را مرنجان الحذر
در طریقت رکن اعظم رحمت است — این چنین فرمود آن خیر البشر

World of Divinity (*'Ālam-i-Malakūt*) was Abul-Faiḍ, then one day he inquired from him in privacy about it. He replied in the affirmative and at the same time told him (Shāh Walīyullāh) that his name in that world is Abul-Fayyāḍ.[41]

Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm had distributed his sacred relics by the end of his life. Shāh Walīyullāh received one of the two hairs of the Holy Prophet, the Shaikh was blessed with. Those two heirs were to survive but now nothing is known about their whereabouts.[42]

When his father died he often visited his grave and concentrated upon it. As a result of it, many secrets were disclosed to him, such as *Tawḥīd* (Unity of God), *Jadhb* (Attraction) and *Sulūk* (mystical journey), and *'Ilm-i-Ladunnī* (Divine Knowledge) was poured into his heart. Through his studying religious books of the four schools of thought, principles of jurisprudence, Traditions and books which were always under consultation by his father, he gained the knowledge he desired. It was simply the Divine support and Unseen illumination that he assumed the form and colour of the nature of the jurists and the traditionists.[43]

This is, indeed, a fact that Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was the first person who had laid the foundation of the teaching of the Tradition on firm basis in the subcontinent. Madrassah-i-Raḥīmiyah established by him worked successfully for a long time. Unfortunately, now no trace of it remains in old Delhi. However, that place, for some time, continued to be known as Maḥallah-i-Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq of Delhi, no doubt, had made a beginning even before Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm in this direction, but the purpose for which that beginning was made was not served. Very few students took interest and derived benefit from the learning of the Tradition. After the death of Shaikh 'Abd-ur Raḥīm, his worthy son took proper care of the Madrassah and continued the teaching of the Tradition uninterruptedly.[44]

41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
43. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf.*
44. *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 414-15.

Shāh Walīyullāh completed the study of both the traditional and the rational sciences, as pointed out before, under the eye of his father He learnt from him the science of Practical Wisdom (*Ḥikmat-i-'Amalī*) as well, and of the manner of mutual dealings (*Ādāb-ul-Mu'āmalāt*). His father was a firm believer in the doctrine of the Unity of Being, and, as such, had encouraged him to read the relevant literature on that subject.[45]

When his father died he took over the charge of the Madrassah and started his teaching and research activities with added zeal and passion. For full twelve years he remained busy in studying the current sciences till he acquired proficiency in them. In consequence, he found himself in a position to solve difficult problems answer questions correctly both from the point of view of tradition and reason.[46]

As he had made his name, students from distant places came to him for receiving education. When, after finishing their course of study, they returned to their respective regions, they used to teach religious literature to the people and apprised them of its importance and necessity for its propagation. In this way the teachings of religion were disseminated. Shāh Walīyullāh, by nature, was free from prejudice and his visitors holding different religious views generally returned satisfied or at least contented. He was an embodiment of magnanimity, tolerance and sympathy for the whole of mankind. This is the reason why he always tolerated the critical remarks of those who differed with a smile.

Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz narrates that one day a person asked his father about the Shī'ahs as to whether they were infidels or not. He in his reply to his question informed him that the Ḥanafī jurists differ in this matter. The man was not satisfied with that reply and he repeated his question. When his father gave him the same reply, he branded him as a Shī'ah.[47]

A similar incidence had happened to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz himself. A Rohilla Pathan whose name was Ḥāfiz Āftāb used to attend his lectures very often. Once when Ḥaḍrat 'Alī's name was

45. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 82. 46. *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 481-95.
47. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

mentioned and he ('Abd-ul-'Azīz) began to recount his merits as he also used to do in the case of other Companions, he took him to be a Shī'ah and left his Madrassah for good. This shows an extreme religious bigotry of some Sunnīs.[48]

From the above examples it is evident that Shāh Walīyullāh and his descendants were always very careful to avoid saying or doing anything which might create rift and division in the Muslim community. Their efforts had always been to patch up the differences, to close ranks and to effect unity among the Muslims. In this respect, they did all that they could do without fear and favour.

As has been told earlier, Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was very keen and anxious about the education of his son. He taught him all the knowledge he possessed, exoteric as well as esoteric. Similar was the case of Shāh Walīyullāh in relation to the education of his children. He died when his elder son Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz was about seventeen years old. Thus, the education of his children remained incomplete during his life. Maulawī 'Abd-ul-Qayyūm relates on good authority that Shāh Walīyullāh, even after his death, was found busy for forty years in the education of his children, in the Intermediary World (*'Ālam-i-Barzakh*). When Mirzā Maẓhar Jān Jānān, who was present at the time of his death, saw him (Walīyullāh) inclined after his death towards this world, he regretted and felt sorry. When Shāh 'Abd-ul-Azīz came to know of this state of his father from him he told him that his inclination was meant for their education.[49]

The retentive power of Shāh Walīyullāh, says his elder son, was very strong. His talk was free from ambiguity and exaggeration. He never felt disgusted with any in conversation. Whenever someone put him a question, he gave him a simple, convincing reply coupled with firmness and confidence. This is one of the reasons why the number of his disciples and students went on increas-

48. Ibid.

49. Refer to May 1966 issue of *Al-Raḥim* published by Shah Waliyullah Academy, in which extracts are given from *Faḍā'il-i-'Azīziyah* by 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Ḍiyā'.

ing day by day and that invariably added to his popularity.[50]

Shāh Walīyullāh learnt the art of the study of books (*Dānish-mandī*) from his father who had acquired it from Mīr Zāhid Hirawī. In this way the chain of this art is linked with Shaikh Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. It is necessary, he argues, to have the knowledge of this art, as it is not only required in the rational and traditional literature, but is also brought into consideration in the Demonstrative (*Burhānī*) and the Explanatory (*Khiṭābīyah*) sciences.[51]

He had divided his time of the day and night according to the requirement of his activities. For example, one part of it he spent in worldly affairs, a part was reserved for teaching and research, and other part of it he spent in the remembrance of God, while the remaining part he spent in attending to the visitors. The night of course was fixed for rest and for the worship of God.[52]

Shāh Walīyullāh's great achievements in the science of religion and arts had carried his name outside India as well. It is, therefore, that he used to receive letters, not only from scholars of his own country, but also from those abroad. For example, he received a letter from Shaikh Āfandī Ismā'īl b. 'Abdullāh, a famous scholar of Medina, in which the latter had asked him to throw light on the doctrine of the Unity of Being (*Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd*) and the Unity of Appearance (*Waḥdat-ush-Shuhūd*).[53]

Makhdūm Mu'īn-ud-Dīn of Tatta had once written him a letter with the request to explain some difficult questions, such

50. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyyah*; *Tafhīmāt*, II, 182:

--- درکلام من تجوز، مساحمة، سکر و مبالغه نیست

Ḥayāt-i-Wali, pp. 481-95.

51. *Risālah-i-Dānishmandī*. [Qāḍī Muḥammad Zāhid b. Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Ḥanafī was a great scholar, and in the knowledge of logic and philosophy he had no equal in the country. Some of his works are: *Sharḥ Mawāqif*; *Sharḥ-ul-Tahdhīb*; *Sharḥ-ul-Tajrīd*; *Sharḥ-ul-Hayākul*. He died in Kabul in 1101/1690.]

52. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 103.

53. *Maktūb-i-Madanī*.

There was another mystic and scholar named Muḥammad Sharīf b. Khairullāh b. 'Abd-ul-Ghanī who had gone to Delhi to qualify himself in mysticism under the guidance of Shāh Walīyullāh. He had obtained permission from him for directing the disciples in the mystical path.[55]

It is an honour and pride for Sind that Shāh Walīyullāh read the Holy Qur'ān from beginning to end before Muḥammad Fāḍil of Sind in the year 1154/1741. Sind in those days was a cradle for the men of learning and a fertile soil for the birth and growth of mystics.[56]

Let it be known that the line of Shāh Walīyullāh's education through his father and then through the latter's teacher Mīr Zāhid Hirawī goes back to the learned scholar Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawwānī (829-907/1426-1501). He (Dawwānī) had written a book entitled *Risālatun Fī Ithbāt-il-Wājib* which contains problems relating to almost every science.[57]

Shāh Walīyullāh had set certain principles for the course of study. He says that, in the beginning, it behoves the teacher to teach his students some small books on grammar. This process may be followed by teaching them books on history and practical wisdom written in Arabic. When the students are found fairly strong in the Arabic language, they should be taught *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik as narrated by Yaḥyā Maṣmūdī. After that the students should be instructed to study the Holy Qur'ān without

55. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 102-03 :

دخل علينا فی شهور سنة ثلاثة و خمسين من المأة احدی عشر ۱۱۵۳ھ - - -
محمد شریف بن خیر الله بن عبدالغنی قاطن اکهمانا کوٹ من بلاد السند - - -
فها انا اجیزه لارشاد الطالبین -

56. *Muqaddimah-i-Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* :

قال العبد الضعيف ولی الله بن عبدالرحيم قرأت القرآن كله من اوله الی آخره
- - - علی الصالح الثقة حاجی محمد فاضل السندی ۱۱۵۴ھ - - - -

***Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI : Muḥammad Fāḍil Sindhī was a great learned scholar, expert in the recitation of the Holy Qur'ān, and was the chief of the readers (*Shaikh-u'l-Qurrā'*) in Delhi.**

57. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 32.

the help of any commentary. In this respect, they may be taught *Tafsīr Jalālain*. When they finish this much course, they should be made to study some portion of *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. When they complete that course they should study jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), books on the fundamental articles of faith (*'Aqā'id*), mysticism and some treatises on the science of the study of books (*Dānishmandī*) and some portion from *Mishkāt*.[58]

His advice is that people should study the Holy Qur'ān and the Tradition on proper lines and act upon them in right earnest. The problems arising out of the bye-laws in jurisprudence (*Furū'āt*) may be considered in the light of the two original sources. If they agree with them, they may be accepted, but if they run counter to them, they should be rejected outright. No attention should be paid to such problems as the ancients have avoided to discuss. The opinions of the rationalists should be simply ignored as they unnecessarily create doubt and confusion.[59]

Shāh Walīyullāh's line of the study of the Holy Qur'ān, continuing through Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān, Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Zaid b. Thābit, 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd is linked with the Holy Prophet. He had learnt, as referred to before, the science of the Holy Qur'ān from his father who was an acknowledged master in this art. He, however, carried on independent study of it, with the result that he turned out a commentator *par excellence*. It is worthy to note that in India, Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was the first person who had started teaching of the Holy Qur'ān without the use of any commentary. This method of his teaching was faithfully followed after him by his worthy son. It generally happens that by consulting the commentaries, the attention of the student is diverted from the Word of God to the comments made

58. *Waṣīyat Nāmah*. [Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā Maṣmūdī learnt jurisprudence from Imām Mālik and then returned to his native land Spain where he worked for the spread of the school of Mālik. He died in 234/839. *Tafsīr Jalālain* is the work of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Maḥallī (709-843/1388-1439) and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505). The former made a beginning in writing the commentary from Sūrah Baqarah up to the end of Sūrah Banū Isrā'īl and the latter completed it.]

59. *Waṣīyat Nāmah*.

by other persons of the same stock to which he belonged. The result is that the whole of his time is taken away in solving the difficulties of the commentators themselves. He, thus, gets no time to devote himself to understand the Holy Qur'ān independently. If the Holy Qur'ān is read with some attention, many wonderful ideas, hitherto unknown, are suggested. This is the reason why Shāh Walīyullāh used to teach the Holy Qur'ān before the Tradition. Through the introduction of this new method, his students gained more from his lessons on the Holy Qur'ān than from his teachings of the Tradition.[60]

While speaking on the Holy Qur'ān, he used to stick to its outward meaning and avoided interpretations as far as possible. It was, indeed, the need of the time. He always instructed and helped his students to think over the Word of God independently as it was the only Book which could stand the test of all times to come.[61]

Though he learnt Tradition from his father and made considerable progress in it during his teaching period, he was not satisfied with the knowledge he had gained. For this purpose he had gone to Maulānā Muḥammad Afḍal of Sialkot who in those days was considered as an authority on the Traditional literature, but he also could not quench his thirst.[62] He, therefore, decided to visit the Holy Land, as he knew well that scholars and divines of Mecca and Medina were real authorities on the Tradition. What could be gained from them in this connection could not be gained from anyone anywhere. After assessing all the facts he realised that until and unless the Traditional literature is gone through as a whole critically, the knowledge of religion will remain incomplete. It is so because the Tradition is next to the Holy Qur'ān and is its reliable commentary.[63]

60. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 86. *Muqaddimah-i-Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* ; *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

61. *Tafhimāt*, I, 37 ; II, 12, 166.

62. Maulānā Muḥammad Afḍal was a renowned traditionist. He visited the Holy Cities and gained knowledge from scholars there. On return from the Ḥaramain he stayed in Delhi and engaged himself in teaching work. He died in 1146/1733.

63. *Muqaddimah-i-Ḥujjatullāh*.

Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was by nature a mystic. He did not write any book. There are, however, his sayings and directions (*Irshādāt*) which have been collected and printed in two separate volumes. Particularly, on the occasion of saying good-bye to the friends, he used to recite this verse often, by way of an advice : [64]

"Happiness of both the worlds lies in these two words,
Kindness to friends and politeness to enemies."

Outwardly, Shāh Walīyullāh had acquired *Bai'ah* and the Ṣūfī rag from his father and, through him, had established his link with other Ṣūfīs, both dead and alive, and their Orders. Inwardly he had the oath of allegiance, association, the Ṣūfī rag and blessings from the Holy Prophet.

Though he belonged to the Naqshbandī Order, he used to mention the names of all the four Orders while taking an oath of allegiance from others. This he probably did with the purpose that the disciples might have an equal regard for all and that everyone might choose the Order to his liking. In *Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'arā'*, Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohī writes that when their spiritual guides took an oath of allegiance from the disciples, they mentioned the names of the founders of the four Orders, so that they might have respect for all, and that they might derive benefit from them. To mention the names of all the four spiritual guides (Khān-Wādah) on such occasions was the practice initiated by Shāh Walīyullāh.[65]

From the four Ṣūfī Orders originated a number of other Orders which are in one way or the other attributed to some celebrated Ṣūfīs. Among the Ṣūfī Orders which have originated from the Naqshbandī system, there is one which is attributed to Shāh Walīyullāh. This Order is known as the "Walīyullāhī Order".

64. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 84 :

اسایش دوگیتی تفسیر این دو حرف است　　با دوستان تلطف با دشمنان مدارا

This couplet is taken from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz.

65. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI ; Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām, *Rūd-i-Kauthar*, p. 359.

In praise of that Order, he says, that in bringing the devotee near to God, it is the nearest one.[66]

Mirzā Jān Jānān al-'Alavī observes that in explaining the subtle points in mysticism, sifting them one from the other and placing every point at its proper place Shāh Walīyullāh was a genius *par excellence.* No mystic before him had followed this path. He tried to harmonise the outward with the inward and *vice versa,* with the result that one finds no difficulty in understanding any reality.[67]

66. *Ath-Thaqāfat-ul-Islāmiyah Fi'l-Hind,* p. 183. *Tafhimāt,* II, 125, 129. By the nearest path is meant the acquisition of the real faith (*Imān Ḥaqīqī*), the *Qurb-un-Nawāfil, Qurb-ul-Wujūd, Qurb-ul-Farā'iḍ,* and *Qurb-ul-Malakūt.*

67. His full name was Shams-ud-Dīn Ḥabībullāh. He was a contemporary of Shāh Walīyullāh and had brotherly connections with him. He has written many useful books. His lineage goes back to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī. He died as a martyr on Saturday, 10 Muḥarram 1195/1781 in Delhi.

Chapter 2

JOURNEY TO ḤARAMAIN

When Shāh Walīyullāh was born, the conditions of the country were extremely bad. Disorder and insecurity were widespread. The Muslim community was without unity and discipline. The ruling clique was divided. No sooner Bahādur Shāh, the son of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, died, than war broke out between Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh and Furrukh Sair. The Sādāt Bārah fully and strongly supported the latter, with the result that he came out victorious. Those Sādāt were a force and their pressure upon State administration was perceptible. They conspired against him and murdered him cruelly. That painful incident took place immediately after the death of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm in the year 1131/1717. Then followed riots and bloodshed throughout the country. Shāh Walīyullāh, who was seventeen at that time, was deeply affected by these tragic events.[1]

At the age of nearly thirty he was invisibly urged to go for Pilgrimage. He was of Arab origin and felt proud of it and of his Arabic language and his return to a land from which his forefathers had come may have looked pleasant to him. Thus, when the time became ripe, he could not control himself from going for Ḥajj and considered that journey as a great Divine favour on him. Accordingly, he left Delhi in 1143/1730. The real purpose of his going to the holy land, besides the performance of Ḥajj,

1. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 86-87. [By Sādāt Bārah probably is meant their twelve families which had taken their settlements in the twelve different places. See Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī, *Tadhkirah Shāh Waliyullāh*, pp. 153-54. Bārah is the name of a village in district Muzaffarnagar (U.P.). The Sayyids who had played a prominent role in politics in the nineteenth century were the residents of this village. Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Shāh Waliyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, p. 176.]

was to make there an exhaustive and critical study of Tradition and Jurisprudence, the reason being that he could not adequately cover the complete ground of these sciences in his country.[2]

When the news of his preparation for Ḥajj journey reached some of his relatives, they tried to prevent him from such an undertaking. Soon after his departure from Delhi they wrote him letters advising him to return. In reply he told them that God had ordered him for this journey. Any attempt at preventing him from that will never succeed and will be a simple disappointment. When they thus failed they pursued him on horseback, but could not catch up with him.

In this journey Shāh Walīyullāh was accompanied by his maternal uncle 'Ubaidullāh al-Bārahawī, by his son Muḥammad 'Āshiq and by some others who kept his company throughout the journey.[3]

His friend and pupil Maulawī Nūrullāh, who was with him from Delhi right up to Surat, did something wrong on the way which displeased God. Shāh Walīyullāh was Divinely inspired to ask him to repent and to pray for forgiveness. He immediately repented for the wrong he had done. God accepted his repentance and he was forgiven. Maulawī Nūrullāh who had accompanied him up to Surat later returned. Another friend in the party had fallen ill in the way, but he recovered as a result of Shāh Walīyullāh's prayer to God.[4]

2. *Waṣiyat Nāmah* ; *Tafhimāt*, II, 153.

3. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI. Shaikh 'Ubaidullāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 'Abil-Faḍl received education from his father. He performed Ḥajj with his son Muḥammad 'Āshiq and the son of his sister, Shāh Walīyullāh, and gathered religious knowledge from the scholars of Mecca and Medina. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq was a great scholar and a traditionist. He was very close and dear to Shāh Walīyullāh. Many works of Shāh Walīyullāh remained well preserved chiefly by his efforts He died in 1187/1773. He was one of those who had understood properly Shāh Walīyullāh's philosophy and thought. Others were Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn Kashmīrī, Nūrullāh Budhānawī and Shāh Abū Sa'īd Barelvī. *Tafhimāt*, II, 153-54.

4. *Tafhimāt*, II, 153-54. [Maulawī Nūrullāh b. Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Pulthī was a traditionist and a man of learning. He was very close to Shāh Walīy-

When he arrived at the port of Surat he found himself faced with a number of difficulties which caused him worry and loss of time. As is known, there were no suitable means of conveyance and transport. The journey was dangerous and one had to undertake it at the risk of one's life.[5]

The exact date on which Shāh Walīyullāh left Delhi is not known. It can, however, be fairly guessed that he left Delhi round about the month of Rajab 1143/1730 so as to reach Mecca in time for Ḥajj. His journey from Delhi to Surat and from there to the seaport of Jeddah was a long and tedious one, and it must have taken enough time in his arriving at the destination.

He performed Ḥajj in the same year and stayed in the Holy Cities for over a year. In Mecca he remained in close contact with scholars and divines and derived immense benefit from them, in particular in the science of Tradition and Jurisprudence. Shaikh Muḥammad Wafdullāh was one of the Meccan scholars. After his return from Medina, he read before him the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik completely as was related by Yaḥyā Maṣmūdī. At the end Shāh Walīyullāh obtained from him the certificate for teaching Tradition.[6]

The other learned scholar he benefited from was Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Qala'ī. From him he got the permission for relating *Muwaṭṭa'* and also received the certificate to teach Tradition. He received from both of them the Ṣūfī rag as well.[7] The other celebrated scholars of the city were 'Īsā Ja'farī Maghribī and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kurdī. It is through these scholars, that he

ullāh, and was the teacher of Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz in the Ḥanafī *Fiqh* and was his father-in-Law. Maulānā Hibatullāh was his son, whose son was Maulānā 'Abdul Ḥayy. He was the student of Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz. He died in about 1187/1773].

5. Ibid., II, 121.

6. *Insān-ul-'Ain*. Shaikh Muḥammad Wafdullāh was a leading *Mujtahid* of his time. In the knowledge of Traditional literature, he had no equal. He was well versed in exegesis, jurisprudence, literature and poetry.

7. Ibid. Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Qala'ī was the *Muftī* of Mecca and a learned divine.

is attached to the line of Ṣūfī rag-robing and gained the certificate for teaching Tradition.[8]

So long as Shāh Walīyullāh, was in Mecca, he spent most of his time by the side of the Ka'bah. As a result of that many Divine favours were showered on him. The composition of *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah* was also the result of those favours. He states that one day after the afternoon prayer, when he was absorbed in the remembrance of God, the Spirit of the Holy Prophet appeared to him. He was as if inspired to rise and undertake the task of presenting the true picture of Islam. He was plainly told that the assignment of that work to him had been already decided in the Unseen world, and he will have to do it. He further narrates that after that incident he found his breast considerably expanded and his mind easily disposed to the doing of that work. It may be noted that, with the exception of two small books, as will be shown in the following chapter, he had written all the books after his return from the holy land. That incident, namely, of the appearance of the Spirit of the Holy Prophet, took place in 1144/1731.[9]

One day, Shāh Walīyullāh relates, he participated in the birthday celebrations of the Holy Prophet. People gathered there in large numbers, and were invoking blessings and benedictions of God upon him. They were recounting his extraordinary works and were mentioning miracles witnessed before and after his birth. All of a sudden, he saw beams of light appearing. He soon came to know that these were radiating from the angels who generally attend such auspicious gatherings. There he found that those beams of light were mingled up with beams of mercy.[10]

8. Shaikh 'Īsā Ja'farī was the teacher of Ḥaramain. He belonged to the Shādhilī Order of the mystics and died in 1080/1669. Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kurdī was a master mind, well grounded in Tradition and Arabic language and possessed sufficient command over the Shāfi'ī jurisprudence. He knew Persian and Turkish and always gave preference to the Ṣūfīs over the philosophers. He died in 1071/1660.

9. *Muqaddimah, Ḥujjatullāh*; *ad-Durr-uth-Thamin*; *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 6.

10. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 8.

After his stay for some time in Mecca he left for Medina. There also he made it a point to remain close to the tomb of the Holy Prophet. As a result of his constant concentration at the tomb of the Holy Prophet he received many blessings and many of the secrets of the Invisible World were unravelled to him. In moments of meditation God acquainted him with the realities of things. Whenever he desired, he says, the solutions of certain problems were explained to him, at times, through his ecstatic contemplation of God, and, at times, by means of a dream.

It has come in the Tradition that whosoever salutes the Holy Prophet, God at once returns the Prophet's soul to him and he then salutes him in reply. Shāh Walīyullāh had actually with his eyes seen the truth of this Tradition for a number of times in the year 1144/1731.[11]

Medina, the resting place of the Holy Prophet, was a centre of learning in those times. Among the scholars, Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir occupied a high position. In addition to his moral perfection, no one was his equal in the possession of religious knowledge. He was an encyclopedia of sciences relating to religion. His sagacity and perceptive faculty in particular were very sharp and penetrating. Shāh Walīyullāh states that he met many scholars there, but he did not find any to match him. This is the reason why he has made a pointed reference to this fact in some of his writings.[12]

He narrates that when one day Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir was teaching, a question was asked about the causes of difference between the Traditions and Jurisprudence at certain places. The Shaikh in his reply told the listeners that the Holy Prophet possessed a comprehensive nature and there is thus room for the contraries.[13]

11. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 77.

12 *Insān-ul-'Ain*. Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Kurdī was a great scholar and divine of Medina. He died in 1145/1732.

13. Ibid.

Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir related that once a student of Shaikh Aḥmad Idrīs led the prayer in the mosque of the Holy Prophet in which he recited the Chapter "Tabbat Yadā . . . ". His teacher blamed him for his reciting a chapter wherein the name of the uncle of the Holy Prophet is mentioned with contempt. Shāh Walīyullāh told the Shaikh that in such matters the criterion should be the practice of the Companions and the Followers. Why may not one take that chapter as expressive of the merits and excellence of the Holy Prophet?[14] Here also he maintained his individuality.

Shāh Walīyullāh completed the study of the six authentic books of Tradition before the Shaikh. In the end he got from him the certificate for teaching. He left a very good impression upon the Shaikh of his efficiency and scholarship. The Shaikh spoke highly of him and would often say that he took from Shāh Walīyullāh the authority of the meanings of the words of Tradition, while he (Shāh Walīyullāh) took from him the authority of the words of Tradition.[15]

So long as he was in Medina, he spent his time in study under the niche of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān, in front of the tomb of the Holy Prophet.[16]

As is known, Shāh Walīyullāh's father and his maternal uncle were the followers of the Ḥanafī school. Similarly, Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir and his father followed the school of Imām Shāfi'ī. Shāh Walīyullāh derived benefit from both of them. After serious consideration he came to know that there was no difference between their schools so far as the basic principles were concerned. This is the reason why he avoided preferring one to the other. No doubt, in practice, he was a Ḥanafī, but, while teaching his students, he would present the viewpoint of both the *Imāms*. He found it necessary to study the Shāfi'ī school side by side with the school of Abū Ḥanīfah. The result was that the students became broad-

14. Ibid.
15. *al-Yāni'-ul-Janni*:
يسند عني اللفظ و كنت أصحح المعنى منه
16. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, Vol. VI.

minded and began to have the same opinion about them both. Shāh Walīyullāh was an independent thinker ; thus, at times he went by the Shāfi ī school. For example, he would raise his hands in prayer, the reason being that he found the number of Traditions in support of raising of hands during prayer larger compared to those against the practice ; besides, they were more strong and authentic. Where there was a difference, he always followed the Tradition which was more sound and strong from the point of view of evidence (*Dalīl*) and transmission (*Isnād*), no matter to which school it belonged.[17]

Shāh Walīyullāh attached more weight to the practice of the people of the Holy-Cities. In the case of (the number of) *Takbīrāt* (magnifying God by saying *Allāh Akbar*) of the 'Īd prayers he gave preference to their practice to the practice of the people of Kūfah. If there happened to be a conflict in the Traditions themselves about a certain matter, and the Traditions of both sides in relation to that matter were found equally sound and authentic, he exercised scrupulousness (*Iḥtiyāṭ*). For example, in the matter of *Zakāt* on ornaments, he observed that the Traditions on both the sides were equally strong. He, therefore, thought that it was more proper to pay the tax (but in so doing one need not take undue trouble).[18]

Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir was not only a distinguished scholar but a Ṣūfī of a very high rank as well. He possessed comprehensive knowledge of all the Orders (*Silsilahs*) of the Ṣūfīs. His rag, as such, combined the qualities of all the rags. He robed Shāh Walīyullāh with his own rag and in this way the latter's attribution to the different Orders of the Ṣūfīs was established. The Shaikh and other divines had also authorised him to teach Tradition and robe the deserving disciples with the Ṣūfī rag.[19]

In Ṣūfism, as a matter of fact, Shāh Walīyullāh was practically in no need of any guide. He finished all the teachings of Ṣūfism under his father and translated them in practice faithfully. The

17. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 10 ; *Kalimāt Ṭayyibāt*, p. 161.
18. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 31, 44.
19. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*.

rags which he obtained from the top-ranking Ṣūfīs of Mecca and Medina were mainly for the sake of blessing (*Tabarruk*). However, whatever deficiency was left it was made up there. He got the permission of reciting *Dalā'il-ul-Khairāt* and *Qaṣīdah Burdah* from his teacher Shaikh Abū Ṭāhir. As for the certificate of *Tasbīḥ* (using a rosary for the praise of God) he received it from Sayyid 'Umar who had permanently settled in Mecca. The permission of *Du'ā'i Saifī* was given to him by Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'īd of Lahore.[20]

He received certificates of *Ḥizb-ul-Baḥr* and *Qūt-ul-Qulūb* also from the Shaikh. As regards the certificates of the Orders of other Ṣūfīs he got them from his teacher besides one from his father.[21]

Shāh Walīyullāh and the Shaikh were so much impressed by each other that when the former intended to return home and went to the latter to bid him farewell, he recited this verse impromptu :

"I forgot all the paths I knew
Save one which led me to your quarter."

The Shaikh was deeply moved by it. He could not control himself and tears welled up in his eyes.[22]

He stayed for a good time in Medina and returned to Mecca in 1144/1731, a little before the start of the Ḥajj season. Of course, he spent the whole month of Ramaḍān there and its last ten days in seclusion (*I'tikāf*) in the Sacred Mosque. During those hours of seclusion many secret truths were made clear to him and he was duly apprised of the solution of some difficult problems. Once he saw in a dream that he was the maintainer of the world (*Qā'im-uz-Zamān*). The term *Qā'im-uz-Zamān*, he explains, means that when God desired to establish the best order in the world, He selected him for the fulfilment of that desire. He further states that in that dream he saw an unbelieving ruler who had forcibly taken posses-

20. Shaikh Muḥammad Sā'īd Shaṭṭārī, Naqshbandī, Qādirī, visited the holy land and performed Ḥajj twice. Shāh Walīyullāh had met him at Lahore. He died in 1166/1753, when he was over 120 years.

21. *Intibāh*, pp. 130, 136, 138, 141.

22. *Insān-ul-'Ain* :

نسیت کل طریق کنت اعرفہ الا طریقا یؤدینی لربعکم

sion of the cities of the Muslims and had indulged in loot and plunder there. In Ajmer, he found the signs of Islam erased out, but after some time he saw that a fighting had taken place between the Muslims and the unbelievers in which the Muslims came out victorious. The ruler of the unbelievers was captured and put to death. He dreamt that dream on 21 Dhu'l-Qa'd 1144/1731. This dream of his, however, materialised after thirty years in the shape of the battle of Panipat.[23]

Before returning home he performed the Pilgrimage for the second time. God Almighty was so much pleased with him that, throughout his stay in the Holy Cities, he remained under repeated flow of His favours, with the result that he returned fully enriched in both the exoteric and esoteric sciences. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, a part of *Tafhīmāt*, and probably *ad-Durr-ul-Thamīn* were the outcome of those favours. When he found the purpose for which he had left his home fully served, he made for India and reached Delhi safely on Friday, 14 Rajab 1145/1732.[24]

It seems that Shāh Walīyullāh spent about two years in this journey, from and back to Delhi. His elder son Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz states that his father stayed for fourteen months in the holy land. Thus, there remain ten months in excess, which might have been spent in the onward and backward journey. This seems credible, the means of conveyance in those days being very slow.

It is reported that while he was still in the holy land, some of his friends in India wrote to him to stay over there as conditions in the country were unfavourable. Shāh Walīyullāh was, by nature, brave and fearless. Nothing could deter him from pursuing the object he had in mind. He was inspired to the effect that a portion of the community will unite and become disciplined through him. And this purpose could be served at home and not abroad. He, therefore, decided to return home.[25]

It is surprising to note that when Shāh Walīyullāh returned home he looked considerably changed. The tenor and the tone

23 *Fuyūḍ ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 44.

24. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*.

25. Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām, op. cit., pp. 318-19.

of his speech differed from what they were before. His students and disciples in particular took notice of it. His speech was always attractive and well grounded. The audience were moved by it. He made an overall change in the method of teaching. From then on he began to prepare his students for specialisation in particular branches of science they were found fit for. When a student gained mastery in some subject to the required standard, he entrusted other students interested in that subject to him and kept himself busy in writing books, in giving lessons on the Tradition and in explaining the subtleties of the gnosis. We find that specialisation now-a-days has become a pressing need of the modern age. He was thus far ahead of his times.[26]

Shāh Waliyullāh generally kept sound health and fell ill rarely. When he was weaned from sucking, his speech even in his infancy, contrary to the ordinary course, was clear. After *Ishrāq* (sunrise) prayer, he would busy himself in his studies and for all the time right up to midday he would never move his body, would not scratch it despite itching trouble, nor would he spit. The truths, revealed to him during his hours of solitude, he put into writing. He brought the Traditional literature, says his elder son, from Mecca and Medina and found it enough to guide him in the various walks of his life.[27]

26. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah.* 27 .Ibid,

Chapter 3

DATES OF SHĀH WALĪYULLĀH'S WORKS

Shāh Walīyullāh began most of his writing work after his return from the Pilgrimage. He breathed his last in 1176/1762 when he was a little over sixty-one. Thus, he spent about thirty years in writing books. The total number of his extant works known so far is about fifty and they all have been printed. The preparation of such a large number of books in this short period is indeed a great achievement, particularly when we notice that his study and teaching work also continued uninterruptedly.

Before he went to perform the Ḥajj, he had already written some poems and small books and of course letters to friends in India and abroad. His treatise *al-Qaul-ul-Jamīl* is an earlier work prepared by him before his departure for the Ḥaramain. He has referred to it in his *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, which he wrote after his return from the holy land. Similarly, *Qaṣīdat-ul-Lāmiyah* was composed by him before 1143/1730 to which also he makes a reference in the *Fuyūḍ*.[1] It is an important poem, and he has drawn the attention of the readers towards it in some of his other works also. His *Qaṣīdah Tā'īyah* also is said to have been a composition of about that time.

He had issued certificates and given written permission to some of his students and disciples for teaching religious knowledge and for introducing the seekers to Ṣūfism and for taking an oath of allegiance from them. The number of his letters is large as the circle of his associates was considerably wide. Many of his letters contained his replies to different questions sent to him for solution by his learned friends. Some letters were written before he had set out for *Ḥajj*.[2]

1. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad: 11, 36:
--- هذه المعرفة احدى معانى قولنا فى القصيدة لامية: شهدت تداوير الوجود جميعها تدور كما دارالرحى المتمائل -

2. *Kalimāt Ṭayyibāt*, pp. 158-97; Rahīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 513-42; Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī, *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*.

After the death of his father when he took over the charge of his *Madrassah*, answering letters from near and far had become a part of his routine work. Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān son of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq Pulthī had made a collection of two hundred and eighty of his letters. When he died, his father found seventy-seven more of his letters. This collection of three hundred and fifty-eight letters was found extant in the possession of Maulawī Nasīm Aḥmad Farīdī Amrohawī.[3] Some letters of his collection have appeared in *al-Furqān* of Lucknow, a monthly journal, and were later reproduced in *Al-Raḥīm* of Hyderabad in 1965.[4]

Let it be borne in mind that Shāh Walīyullāh had started translating the Holy Qur'ān into the Persian language before his departure for the holy land. Persian was then the official language spoken and understood everywhere. The translation of the Holy Qur'ān into that language was considered absolutely necessary. For example, the translation of and commentary on the *Zahrā-wain*, namely, the chapters al-Baqarah and Āl-i-'Imrān, had been completed by him before he left for Pilgrimage. He continued the work of translation and commentary after his return from Arabia. A rough draft of it became ready by 1150/1737. He took a year to make it fair. It was through the earnest efforts of his dear colleague Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn that the Holy Qur'an with Persian translation and short commentary and notes, entitled *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*, went into circulation six years later, in 1156/1743.[5]

It can be safely guessed that he may have compiled *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain* and *ad-Durr-uth-Thamīn* after his return from Ḥajj, fearing that if the realities seen in a dream or in a state when one's visible senses cease functioning are not immediately put into writing, they may either escape one's memory or lose their real form.

3. Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

4. See May, June, July and August 1965 issues of the monthly journal *Al-Raḥīm*, published by Shāh Walīyullāh Academy, Hyderabad, Pakistan.

5. *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*, "*Muqaddimah*".

The treatise *Hama'āt*, in which the history of mysticism is traced, seems to have been composed by him in the year 1148/1735, as is mentioned at its end. According to one manuscript copy of the treatise, the year of its completion is 1162/1769. Both the dates are probable, though, generally, his books on mysticism and philosophy are from his later works.[6]

There is some ground to believe that *al-Muqaddimat-us-Sanīyah* was written by Shāh Walīyullāh during his preparation of *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* in between 1150/1737 and 1156/1743. Similarly, *Fatḥ-ul-Khabīr* may also be the work of that period. Both these treatises are in some way very close to *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*. In *Fatḥ-ul-Khabīr*, he has traced rareties of the Holy Qur'ān and explained them. Whatever was left imcomplete in this respect by Ibn 'Abbās and Imām Suyūṭī was completed by him.[7]

It is, however, not possible to give the dates of all his works, as, with the exception of a few, he himself has not mentioned the dates of their composition. As we have stated before, Shāh Walīyullāh acquired proficiency in the science of Tradition and jurisprudence during his stay in the Ḥaramain. He returned as an authority on these sciences. Thus it can be conjectured that it was after his return from Ḥajj that he may have prepared *'Iqd-ul-Jīd fī Aḥkām-il-Ijtihād wan-Taqlīd* and *al-Inṣāf fī Bayān Sabab-il-Ikhtilāf* along with *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān*. In the former he has shown that all the four schools are correct and reliable. They are agreed on principles, and differ only in the bye-laws. This difference in no way justifies segregation in any form among the followers. In the latter, he has traced the causes of difference found among the Companions and their immediate followers. There also he shows that the courses they followed were equally correct.

Similarly, the treatise *al-Irshād Ilā Muhimmāt 'Ilm-il-Isnād*

6. *Hama'āt* (Bait-ul-Ḥikmah, Lahore, 1944):
وکان ختامه فی جمادی الآخرة سنته ثمان و اربعین و مأة الف ۔
و علی حاشیه : و در خطیته فی الصفر المظفر سنته اثنین و ستین و مأة و الف من هجرة رسول الله صلعم ۔

7. *Al-Muqaddimat-us-Saniyah.*

may be taken to be the work of those days, the reason being that every scholar of Ḥaramain he had met with had written a book on this subject. He, therefore, liked to apprise people of the importance of this science, and wrote it for their benefit. The other works such as *an-Nawādir Min Aḥādīth Sayyid-il-Awā'il wall-Awākhir*, *Insān-ul-'Ain fī Mashā'ikh-il-Ḥaramain* and *al-Faḍl-ul-Mubīn fil-Musalsal min Aḥādīth-in-Nabiyyil-Amīn* may also have been the works of approximately the same times. The contents of these books are more or less the result of his stay in the holy cities.

In his collection of poems named *Aṭyab-un-Naghm*, *Qaṣīdah Bā'iyah* and *Qaṣīdah Hamziyah* with comments had been composed, as is mentioned by him, in 1156-57/1743-44. He, in *Qaṣīdah Bā'iyah*, has imitated *Qaṣīdah Bā'iyah* of Sāwād b. Qārib, a Companion. The poem of Sawād is, however, more eloquent, and though Shāh Waliyullāh has not been able to bring in that grace, his poem is meaningful.[8]

Al-Khair al-Kathīr, a unique composition of Shāh Walīyullāh, on *Ḥikmah* (philosophy), seems to have been prepared by him between 1152/1739 and 1160/1747. He in that work has shown that philosophy proper is enshrined in the *Sharī'ah* only. Its composition is prior to the composition of *Tafhīmāt* as he has made a referenc of it in the latter at two places.[9] This book has two Urdu translations. One is made by Maulānā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm, Professor of Arabic, Islamic College Peshawar, and published by Maulvī Surtī, Jamli Mohallah, Bombay. The other one dictated by late Māulāna 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī is in manuscript form and is lying with Maulwi Ghulām Muṣṭafā Qāsimī, the Director of Shah Wāliyullah Academy, Hyderabad. Its English translation has been made by the present author and it has been recently published.[10]

Ta'wīl-ul-Aḥādīth is indeed a wonderful work of Shāh Waliyallāh and meets the requirement of the modern age. He has

8. *Aṭyab-un-Naghm*.

9. *Muqaddimah Fārsiyah li al-Khair-ul-Kathīr*; *Tafhīmāt*, I, 49; II, 16.

10. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1974.

traced in it the history of the Prophets (from Adam to Muḥammad) whose names have come in the Holy Qur'ān and has shown that the ground is always prepared before the advent of the Prophets and that there were natural causes behind the important events which had taken place during their days. Brevity and employment of particular terminology are the chief characteristics of its style. It has been translated and published in the Urdu language twice. The present author has translated it in Sindhi and English. Both the translations have been published.[11] It was composed before *al-Fauz-ul-Kabīr* as its reference has come in the latter.[12]

The books on mysticism in particular, such as *Lama'āt* (not traceable anywhere), *Lamaḥāt*, *Sata'āt*, *Hawāmi'* and *Alṭāf-ul-Quds*, might have been written by ShāhWalīyullāh between 1150/1737and 1160/1747. Among these may also be included *al-Budūr-ul-Bāzighah*, *al-Khair-ul-Kathīr* with which he made the beginning, and *Ta'wīl-ul-Aḥādīth*. Besides, *Waṣīyat Nāmah* and *Risālah-i-Dānishmandī* and some other booklets and pieces of poetry can be safely added to them. The collection of his works in relation to such topics made by his dear student Muḥammad 'Āshiq contained nearly twenty books. Shāh Walīyullāh recognises him as the main cause of the preparation and preservation of his works.[13]

Al-Fauz-ul-Kabīr, written in the Persian language, has its Arabic and Urdu translations as well. Its English translation has been done by the present author and is waiting for publication.[14] This unique work of his was done by him after completing *al-Khair-ul Kathīr*, to which fact he has made a reference in it. For the study of the Holy Qur'ān, a prior reading of this book is strongly recommended, as it is of immense help towards the

11. English translation published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1973.

12 *Al-Fauz-ul-Kabīr Fi Uṣūl-it-Tafsīr*, p. 40.

13. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 127. *Muqaddimah Fārsīyah li al-Khair-ul-Kathīr*,

14. With Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore.

understanding of the Qur'ān's meanings.[15]

The important book *al-Musawwā'*, an Arabic commentary of *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, was prepared by him before he took up *Tafḥīmāt*, according to a reference made in it. For the learned scholars engaged in research activities it is absolutely necessary to consult *Musawwā*,[16]

The small treatise, *al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*, in which he has given his biographical account, may be taken as the work of those times, the reason being that he has made a reference to *Lamaḥāt* and *Saṭa'āt* which are shown as the preparations of sometime before 1160/1747.[17]

It can be believed that after the preparation of these works he may have taken up the writing of *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*. He in that book has given the life account of his father and uncle with a mention of many useful points, mystical as well as philosophical. It is indeed a lost thing of a Ṣūfī. Shāh Walīyullāh's father died in 1131/1718 and this work was prepared by him thirty years after his death. What is surprising is that Shāh Walīyullāh recorded every item of information great and small, which his father had desired to be put into writing. Such retentive and strong was his memory.[18]

The book *al-Intibāh-fī-Salāsil Auliyā' Allāh* had been produced by him before his other famous work, *Tafhīmāt*. He has made such a reference there. He, in that book, has traced the lives of well-known Ṣūfīs with whom he was in some way connected outwardly and inwardly.[19]

We have mentioned in the last chapter that when he was in Mecca and staying by the side of the Ka'bah, he was one night inspired to take up the work of presenting Islam in its true per-

15. *Al-Khair-ul-Kathir*. p. 87:

ـ ـ ـ عسى ان نحيطه فى رسالة منفردة (اشاره الى ا لفوز ا لكبير) -

16. *Tafhīmāt* I, 236. 17. *al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif*.

18. *Anfās-ul-'Arifin*, p. 65 :

ـ ـ ـ گمان این فقیر آنست که از انچه قصد تحریر ان داشتند چیزی کم نشده -

19. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 236.

spective. When he returned home he hesitated to give a practical shape to that inspiration, the reason being that the situation he was placed in was not favourable. But the inspiration must work; the inspired person before it is like a dead body in the washer's hand. His most dear student Muḥammad 'Āshiq, with whom his attachment was very close, continued encouraging him every time he showed some reluctance about it. His efforts eventually fructified and Shāh Walīyullāh mustered courage to embark upon this task. The exact date when this work was started is difficult to fix. But as the book is bulky and most meaningful it must have taken sufficient of his time. The probable year of its completion is after 1183/1769. The reasons are quite clear. He mentions in it that one afternoon he saw death descending on one of his ailing children, and he actually died the following night.[20]

The word *aulād* is in the plural, and, as such, he must have at least three issues by that time. If the dying child referred to his son Muḥammad, born to his first wife, then his other first two children named Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz and Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn, he was blessed with from his second wife, were born in 1159/1746 and 1163/1750 respectively. Thus, this *magnus opus* of his must have been brought to completion after that date.

Shāh Walīyullāh in that wonderful work has unravelled the secrets behind the injunctions of Law (*Sharī'ah*), and in this respect, it is unquestionably unparalleled. It enshrines a number of sciences, some discussed in detail and others in a brief way. It is just like an encyclopedia. The author himself is very proud of it and has termed it as a comprehensive composition.[21]

If all the other works of Shāh Walīyullāh had been lost, with the exception of his *Fatḥ-ur-Raḥmān* and *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighāh*,

20. *Ḥujjatullāh,* I, 66 :
- - - ومنها ان بعض اولادی کان مریضا - - - فبینما انا اصلی الظهر شاهدت موته نزل فمات فی لیلته ۔

21. Ibid., *Muqaddimah* :
- - - هو (حجة الله البالغة) اجدی من تفاریق العصا و کل الصید فی جوف الفرا ۔ —

they would have been sufficient to keep his memory green and fresh for ever. The late Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī realised the importance and usefulness of the former after his visit to Europe. In his opinion this brief commentary is far superior to all other commentaries in explaining the desired meanings implied in the Qur'ānic text.[22]

Al-Tafhīmat-ul-Ilāhīyah, as the name itself signifies, comprises the Divine inspiration to him from time to time. The book is both instructive and informative. There appears to be some contradiction in it, but this can be removed when the matter is considered from all points of view. This book was written after *Ḥujjatullāh* according to a reference, in the former. It was his dear colleague Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn who made a collection of the contents of that book and set them in order.[23]

A small but useful treatise, entitled *as-Sirr-ul Maktūm Fi-Asbāb Tadwīn-il-'Ulūm* was composed by Shāh Walīyullāh after the composition of this monumental work, *Ḥujjatullāh*, as stated, by him in the former. Thus, it can be safely said to have been written after 1166/1753.[24]

Similarly, it can be surmised that *Ḥusn-ul-'Aqīdah* and *'Imdān Fi Ma'āthir-il-Ajdād* were written by him during the same time, viz. after 1166/1753. Shāh Walīyullāh left behind a great treasure of religious literature wherein various subjects have been discussed. He, therefore, might have thought it advisable to declare, at the end, his religious tenets in unequivocal terms, so

22. *Ilhām-ur-Raḥmān*, p. 72 :

- - - و لو لم یکن هذا الامام لما کنا نطمئن بتفاسیر مثل الرازی والبیضاوی -

Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī, *Shāh Waliyullāh Aur Un Kā Falsafah*, pp. 52-57.

23. *Tafhīmāt*. I, 236 :

- - - وسمع علی بعض مصنفاتی لفتح الرحمن والحجة الله البالغة والمسوی -

24. *As-Sirr-ul-Maktūm* :

- - - و من اعظم منن الله تعالی علی هذا العبد ان و فقه لتخریج اسرارالحدیث اجمالا و تفصیلا فدو نها فی کتاب سماه حجة الله البالغه -

as to eliminate the possibility of any adverse criticism against him. In like manner, he found it worthwhile to put his chain of lineage into writing for the sake of reference. Such items of life are generally attended to at an advanced age.

Qurrat-ul-'Ainain fī Tafḍīl-ish-Shaikhain seems to have been prepared by him round about 1170/1756. Though by nature Shāh Walīyullāh was inclined to the superiority of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, yet in practice he was restrained by the Unseen Power from following that view.[25] He wrote that book at the request of his dear colleague Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn as it had become the subject ofdiscussion and dispute in the country those days. Shāh Walīyullāh's approach to this delicate subject has been extremely just and fair. He has, therefore, warned the readers against passing any hasty judgment until it is thoroughly gone through with the spirit of tolerance and the eye of impartiality.[26]

This work of his was followed in quick succession by his other voluminous work entitled, *'Izālat-ul Khafā' 'an Khilāfat-il-Khulafā'*. In this book he has proved the right of Caliphate for the Orthodox Caliphs and has shown through authentic Traditions that the entertaining of belief in their Caliphate is one of the principles of religion. What chiefly characterises it is the total absence in it of any prejudice. The author has satisfied both the sides, the Sunnīs as well as the Shī'ahs. Even otherwise, Shāh Walīyullāh disliked preferring one to the other. His anxiety all the time had been to see the Muslims very close, united and disciplined. The work, therefore, may be taken to have been finished by him a little after 1170/1756.[27]

The last work of Shāh Walīyullāh was *al-Muṣaffā'*, a rather

25. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad: 33 :
... و ثالثها الوصاة بتفضيل الشيخين رضى الله تعالى عنهما فان طبيعتى و فكرى اذا تركتا وانفسهما فضلتا عليا كرم الله وجهه -

26 *Qurrat-ul-'Āinain*, p. 3.

27. *Izālat-ul-Khafā'* :
- - . تاآنکه بعلم اليقين دانسة شد که اثبات خلافت اين بزرگواران اصلى است از اصول دين -

fuller commentary on *Muwaṭṭā'* written in Persian. On account of his occupations, he could not compile the important work during his lifetime. Some six months after his death, a pious man one night saw him in a dream and found him very anxious about the publication of that book. When this news reached his dear student Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq, he lost no time in arranging its scattered pages. After having done that he informed Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn about it, who, keeping *al-Musawwā'* before him, prepared a fair copy of them. The work of arrangement and revision of the manuscript came to completion on 18 Shawwāl 1179/1765.[28]

The books he wrote and which are known so far are about fifty. He finished all this work in a period of thirty years. What is surprising to note is that the regular course of study, research and teaching continued without a break. His purpose behind all this was to serve Islam and the community. This is the reason why his writings impress the readers so deeply.[29]

The books *Tuḥfat-ul-Muwaḥḥidīn* and *al-Balāgh-ul-Mubīn* have also been seen included in the list of his books. The present author has gone through them both. The former bears some resemblance to his style, but it seems to be a clear case of attribution. The latter is a work of a mediocre and is far below Shāh Walīyullāh's standard. It is, therefore, that the late Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī used to say that it is not the work of Shāh Walīyullāh, and wherever it be found, it should be torn into pieces and thrown off. The possibility of the ascription of certain sayings in some of his works cannot be completely ruled out.[30]

Some months before his death, during his last illness, he was in Budhana, a village at a distance of about thirty miles from Meerut.

28. *Al-Musaffā'*, II, 387. 29. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 53.

30. Ibid , II, p. 45:

کل من ذهب الی بلدة اجمیر او الی قبرسالار مسعود - - -

Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn, Urdu Translation, p. 28.

Here the expression is vulgar and cannot be taken as Shāh Walīyullāh's utterance.

It was the birth-place of Maulvī 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy. When his condition became serious he came to Delhi on 9 Dhul-Ḥajj 1175/1761 for medical treatment. He stayed in the house of Bābā Faḍlullāh. Shāh Walīyullāh was very kind to his friends and disciples and always remembered them. He remembered his dear disciple Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ḥasanī even in this critical moment and wished he may arrive soon. He, however, could not recover from that illness and died in Delhi on Saturday at noon, the 29th of Muḥarram 1176/1762 when he was sixty-one years and four months old. At the time of his death, his two elder sons and his disciples and close friends, such as Muḥammad 'Āshiq and Muḥammad Amīn, were present.[31]

31. See the letter of Sayyid Muḥammad Nu'mān Ḥasanī written to Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ḥasanī, in the August issue of the monthly magazine *Al-Raḥim*, Hyderabad, Pakistan.

از آن جا که حضرت ایشان جهت تداوی و تدابیر در ماه ذی الحج تاریخ نهم شهر دهلی ـ ـ ـ نزول فرمودند ـ ـ ـ و از فرزندان گرامی ـ ـ ـ ـ شاه عبدالعزیز ـ ـ ـ محمد امین وغیره حاضر خدمت بودند ـ ـ ـ میر ابو سعید اراده آمدن دارند اگر زود برسند بهتر باشد ـ ـ ـ

Chapter 4

TIMES AND CONDITIONS

The conditions of the country when Shāh Walīyullāh was born were extremely bad. There was political instability and the state of insecurity. The people had no peace of mind and no safety of life. Loot and plunder, feuds and fighting had spread everywhere. Disintegration had set in the Mughal Empire and the Muslims were split among themselves. Consequently, they suffered much at the hands of the Sikhs, Jats and Marathas.

When Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr died, Shah Walīyullāh was only four years old. No less than ten rulers ascended the throne one after the other during his lifetime. When Muḥammad Shāh Rangīla sat on the throne he was seventeen years old. This happened in 1132/1719. A little before that, when Farrukhsair had taken the reins of rulership in his hands in 1125/1713 the conditions of the state had taken an ugly turn, as a result of which he lost his life.[1]

The rule of Muḥammad Shāh was comparatively longer. He reigned from 1132/1719 to 1161/1768. He was pleasure-seeker and a great drunkard. On that account he was given the title of Rangīla. In spite of that, he had a taste for learning and held the learned in high regard. In Delhi alone, there were no less than twenty-two scholars of great repute. The *Madrassah* in which Shāh Walīyullah used to teach was not large enough as to accommodate the ever-increasing number of students. Muḥammad Shāh, therefore, handed over the whole *Muḥallah* of Shāh Jahān to the *Madrassah* for that purpose. The building of the *Madrassah*, neglected for long, could not, however, stand the passage of time and in 1857 War of Independence was reduced to ruins ; now no trace of it is visible.[2]

1. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 87. 2. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

In 1152/1739 Delhi was attacked by Nādir Shāh. So much blood was shed and cruelties perpetrated that respectable families of the city, in order to save their honour, made up their minds to set themselves to fire (*jawhar kardan*). Shāh Walīyullāh restrained them from doing that and reminded them of the behaviour of Imām Ḥusain and his family. Nādir Shāh was, however, interested in loot and plunder, and for that he and his army did what they did. The result of that plunder was that the Muslims suffered the most, the infidels gained added strength, the ruler's army weakened and Delhi reduced to children's play. This can be testified from the letters Shāh Walīyullāh wrote to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī persuading him to invade India.[3]

After Muḥammad Shāh and before 'Ālam Shāh, two rulers, namely, Aḥmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr the Second, ascended the throne and ruled for six and five years, respectively. During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, Delhi was attacked by the Jats who took away what they could lay their hands on. Shāh Walīyullāh and his neighbours were, however, saved from the devastation. This shows how weak and helpless the government had become. Shāh Walīyullāh has made a mention of this tragic state of affairs in one of his letters which he wrote to Ḥāfiẓ Jārullāh Punjābī when the latter was in Ḥijāz for Pilgrimage.[4]

Once when the conditions worsened and life became too bitter to live Shāh Walīyullāh's dear student Shaikh Muḥammad 'Āshiq sought his advice in connection with the observance of seclusion in the mosque (*I'tikāf*) in the village Pulth, his birth-place. Shāh Walīyullāh in his answer wrote to him that to leave home (Delhi) in those circumstances was repugnant to the beneficial contingency (*Maṣliḥah*) This was a clear proof of his courage to face the situation however grave it be.[5]

In another letter he has given an account of his meeting with

3. Ibid.; Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, p. 52.

4. Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 89.

5. Ibid., p. 77.

Aḥmad Shāh. It also shows that he was an extraordinary personality respected by the rulers and well versed in state politics.[6]

When Shāh 'Ālam ascended the throne the conditions deteriorated further and went beyond control. The main cause of all that disorder and confusion was disunity and mutual rivalries among the ruling clique. Besides, there were other evils of all kinds rampant everywhere.[7]

Shāh Walīyullāh, therefore, came into contact with persons in authority. He would send them his suggestions which generally made them firm and steadfast against possible threats. They also consulted him and sought his advice on many occasions, and often pleaded him to pray for their safety and victory. Among them all, Najīb-ud-Dawlah wielded great influence. He was an able administrator and a brave general. Gallantry, political ability, farsightedness and state administration were his chief qualities. Shāh Walīyullāh's establishing connections with him was a sign of his awareness of the prevalent political situation.[8]

Once when Ṣafdar Jang conspired with the Jats against the government, Najīb-ud-Dawlah, who had a very great regard for Shāh Walīyullāh, wrote him a letter and apprised him of the situation created. He, in his reply, gave him consolation and informed him that the defeat of the Jats had been already decided in the higher world, and, therefore, there was no cause for worry. He further told him that if some Muslims had joined hands with them, there was no reason to feel afraid of.[9]

Shāh Walīyullāh had pinned his hopes on Najīb-ud-Dawlah as he was the only top official who had the ability and tact to run the administration smoothly in the face of enemies within and

6. Ibid., p. 33.
7. *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah*, I. 105 ; Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 3.
سلطنت شاہ عالم از دہلی تا بہ پالم
8. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 199-203. 9. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

without. Najib-ud-Dawlah, who actually felt the need of consulting Shāh Walīyullāh in times of trial and tribulation, used to help the latter financially when asked for. This is testified by the letter once Shāh Walīyullāh wrote to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd.[10]

Jats, Marathas and Sikhs had wrought havoc and were a constant danger to the life and property of the Muslims. They were a standing threat to the state itself. It is, therefore, that once addressing Najīb-ud-Dawlah as the *Ra'īs-ul-Mujāhidīn* and *Amīr-ul-Ghuzzāt* he pointedly drew his attention to the fact that, until and unless these three warring people were completely suppressed and wiped out, no ruler could sit on the throne with peace and security. He further told him to remember that in the fight with the enemies, sometimes one wins and sometimes loses, and on that account one need not feel discouraged and disappointed.[11]

Najīb-ud-Dawlah (1119-1185/1707-1771) hailed from Peshawar, where he was born, but finding no prospects there, he came to the Indian capital, joined military service and steadily rose from rank to rank. He played such an important role in politics that he became directly attached to the rulers and very soon became their chief consultant in state affairs.[12]

The guerrilla activities of the Marathas and other infidels increased considerably. Both the Muslims and the state could not stand their repeated attacks any longer. On one occasion Shāh Walīyullāh was forced to flee from Meerut to Pulth to save himself from the attack of the Marathas. He has referred to this incident in his letter addressed to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd.[13]

10. See May 1965 issue of *Al-Raḥīm*, for an article by Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad Faiḍī Amrohawī in reference to Shāh Walīyullāh's letter to Sayyid Abū Sa'īd :

- - - و در رجب صد روپیہ از طرف نواب (نجیب الدولہ) رسیدہ بود -

11. Niẓāmī, op. cit., p. 32. 12. Ibid., pp. 199-203.

13. See Maulānā Nasīm Aḥmad's article, op. cit. :

- - - ازاں باز کہ بسبب ہجوم مرہٹہ انتقال از میرٹھ نمودہ مآب ابراہیم خلیل خان آن گنگا گذر رفتند - - -

Finding no other way to get out of this critical situation, he wrote a letter to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, through Najīb-ul-Dawlah, to attack India. He in his letter encouraged him and pleaded him to launch upon that military campaign, as it was the only course left to save the Muslim community and the crippling state from complete ruination. It was his shrewdness that he chose Najīb-ul-Dawlah as an agency through whom he corresponded with Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, as the former was the real authority to speak on behalf of the government. Besides, his invitation to Abdālī, who was a tried and able commander, for that expedition was a clear proof of his knowledge of the political situation of the country. He very clearly furnished him with a detailed account of the geographical situation of India, the economic condition of the people and of the showy military strength of the well-known parties by way of persuasion and encouragement. All this shows that he was not only a religious scholar, but a great thinker and a seasoned politician as well.[14]

He, in his lengthy letter, had informed Abdālī of the mutual rivalries between the Amīrs and Viziers and the lack of cooperation among them. This he purposely did to help him prepare his plan in the light of this information. That useful information certainly emboldened and inspired Abdālī with hopes of success in his mission. The general accordingly decided to set out to India to teach a lesson to the infidels.

At last Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī made an all-out attack on India in 1174-75/1760-1761. The battle took place in the plains of Panipat. The Marathas, despite their great military might, suffered a crushing defeat. Their losses were terrible and their power was completely broken. They could not rise for some time to come. This was a golden opportunity for the Muslims to avail of, but against all expectations they remained where they were. Numerous indpendent petty kingdoms were established in the

14. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 28, 50, 51, 143.

country and the centre remained as weak as before.[15]

In the fight at Panipat and the victory of the Muslims there was the materialisation of the dream Shāh Walīyullāh had seen in 1144/1731 in Mecca. In the ordinary course the extreme limit fixed for a dream's materialisation is said to be twenty years. The reason behind such limit is that when the Prophet Joseph saw in a dream the eleven stars, the sun and the moon prostrating before him he was seven years old, but his dream came out to be true when he was twenty-seven. On that basis, the dream-interpreters have fixed twenty years as the maximum limit for the materialisation of a dream. But Shāh Walīyullāh's dream took practical shape after thirty years, and this, curiously enough, ran counter to the regular course.[16]

Let it be remembered that Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī attacked India many a time. The battle of Panipat was his sixth campaign against India, followed by three more. He was in the company of Nādir Shāh when the latter attacked Delhi. At that time he held a high position. Nādir Shāh had full confidence in him, and on his death Aḥmad Shāh became the ruler. Thus, he was largely acquainted with conditions obtaining then in India. Whether he possessed the qualities of a just and God-fearing ruler is a different thing, but it is a fact that he was the only person to save the Muslims and the empire from falling into the hands of the infidels. Shāh Walīyullāh's sole anxiety at that time was to achieve deliverance from the prevalent trials and troubles for some time, and he in that respect met with success.[17]

Shāh Walīyullāh's political activities through his letters addressed to rulers, responsible officers, Nawābs and his friends have been collected by Professor Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī in his book : *Shāh Walīyullāh Kay Siyāsī Maktūbāt*, a study of which is recommended to readers interested in the subject.

15. Ibid., p. 19.
16. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Haramain*, Mashhad, 44.
17. Niẓāmī, op. cit., pp. 188-98.

It appears from what has been mentioned above that Shāh Walīyullāh did not confine his activities to preaching and writing of books only. He remained vigilant and watchful all the time towards the changes in the political situation of the country. Islam could maintain its pristine purity and flourish only when there is a strong political power behind it. He had seen that the fate of the Mughal Empire was sealed and the creation of a powerful centre was out of question, but he thought that immediate suppression of the Marathas and other trouble-makers was the need of the time. This purpose was adequately served by the battle of Panipat.

Economic Conditions. The economic conditions of the country in the days of Shāh Walīyullāh were deplorable. They invariably affected the morality of people. There were, however, many causes for the deterioration of the economic conditions. Some of these are given below.

(1) *Exploitation*. The rich continued to exploit the poor and the weak with the result that wealth remained confined in the hands of a few persons.

(2) *Life of Luxury*. The influential and the high-ups lived a life of extreme ease and comfort. This brought in its wake unrest and misery for the lower class, the downtrodden.

(3) *Imposition of Taxes*. Heavy taxes were levied upon traders, artisans and labourers.

(4) *Jāgīrdārī*. *Jāgīrdārī* system sucked the blood of the workers just to add to the luxuries of the owners of *Jāgīrs*.

(5) *Khāliṣah Territory*. Reduction in the area of *Khāliṣah* territory badly affected the state exchequer.

(6) *Distribution of Labour* Improper distribution of labour badly upset the economic order.

In addition to these, there were other evils which had shaken the economic system completely. For an improved and reformed economy, Shāh Walīyullāh thought it necessary that the basic necessities of life be provided to the people. That state would be considered a welfare state where this is done. And the establishment of such a state can be visualised only when every man

works with his own hands to earn his living, and not be a burden on others and the state.[18]

A corrupt government which neglects satisfying the basic needs of life, says Shāh Walīyullāh, should and must be overthrown, by every hook and crook. If it is allowed to continue, its corruption will spread like a cancer first in some members of the administration, which, if it is not cut out from its very root, will go on spreading till the whole body will disintegrate.[19]

Religious Conditions. Like the economic conditions, the social and the religious conditions of that time were far from satisfying. The life the Muslims led was radically opposed to the spirit of Islam and its teachings. Total absence of unity and lack of discipline kept them poles apart and at daggers drawn. No research and investigation was made even by the learned in the affairs of religion as to solve the problems emerging from time to time. They stuck to blind imitation with the result that they failed to face the hard realities. Hindu Vedantism, the Shi'ite tendencies and the vile innovations had prevailed upon them. The speeches of the preachers were always blended with unsuitable hints of mysticism which led them astray from the right path. The Holy Qur'ān was recited simply for blessing and was kept covered with precious cloth. The opinion of the *Imām* was preferred to the Traditions when the former was found in clash with the latter. Serious thinking and independent approach

18. *Al-Budūr-al Bāzighah* :

- - - انما الا خلاق بالأحوال لا بالعلوم -

Ḥujjatullah, I, 25 :

- - - و من اعظم الاسباب لفسادالمدنية ان يقتضب واحد على الأخر و به معيشته -

Tafhimāt, I, 218 :

- - - و اكتسبوا قدر ما يكفيكم ولا تكونوا كلا على الناس و على الخلفاء - - -

Khāliṣah means a reserve the income of which directly goes to the state treasury.

19. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 170-71 :

- - - المدن الفاسدة يغلب عليها نفوس سبعية و يكون لهم تمنع شديد انما هو بمنزلة الاكلة فى بدن الانسان لا يصح الانسان الا بقلعه -

to the law were recklessly ignored, with the result that they fell an easy prey to superstition and innovation.[20]

Ṣūfīs were hollow, had no knowledge of the Holy Qur'ān and the Traditions. Despite that, their views were preferred to the plain words of the law. In the gatherings of the elite and the educated, Ṣūfism, Ṣūfistic poetry and the hints of the Ṣūfīs were the pet topics. Consequently they became inactive and lethargic.

Rationalism and philosophy had considerably influenced the people with the result that doubts were created in their minds about the truth of religion. Thus, they began to test everything at the touchstone of reason. Shāh Walīyullāh presented true philosophy before them, brought it near to their understanding and showed to them that philosophy proper is one which is enshrined in the teachings of the Prophets.[21]

Similarly, the controversies between the Shī'ahs and Sunnīs had placed them in opposite camps, and had, besides, sown in them the seeds of hatred and prejudice. In order to end such controversies he prepared *Izālat-ul-Khafā' 'An Khilāfat-il-Khulafā'* which, when read dispassionately, appeals and satisfies both the sides. Shāh Walīyallāh's writings are above bias and free from the colour of emotionalism.

20. *Tāfhīmāt*, II, 200.

21. Ibid., II, 82, 83, 208 ; *al-Khair-ul-Kathir*, p. 130 :

علی من می شناسم این گہر دزدان حکمت را
فلاطون آہ گرمی دید یونانی کہ من دارم

Chapter 5

SERVICE TO RELIGION

Shāh Walīyullāh spent the whole of his life in the service of religion. His services brought about far-reaching consequences and have left a deep impression upon the people. He has written books on various branches of religious sciences and they are enough to speak of his merits.

Holy Qur'ān. Shāh Walīyullāh was the first person who persistently called upon the community to turn to the Holy Qur'ān. He impressed upon them the necessity of its study, and made it clear to them that it is the only Book which could stand the test of all times and is the sure remedy of all their ills. It is the real source of guidance to be always referred to and relied upon. With this purpose in mind, he translated it into the Persian language, as it was then the official language spoken and understood everywhere. He took this bold and courageous step at the risk of his life, but he did not care for that. Once an attempt was made on his life for that action of his, but it failed. He was declared an infidel (*kāfir*), the reason being that in those days translating the Holy Qur'ān into another language and understanding through it was considered a sin and a violation of its sanctity.[1]

The Persian translation of the Holy Qur'ān made by Shāh Walīyullāh was the first that appeared in the subcontinent. However, there was one other translation of it in the Persian made by Makhdūm Noah of Hala, Hyderabad Division, who died in 998/1590. That translation continued to remain unknown and was published some years back. Though Shāh Walīyullāh's translation is generally literal, it is very clear and easy to understand. The brief marginal notes at some places are very important, meaning-

1. Maulānā Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt-i-Wali*, pp. 418-20, footnote.

ful and cater to the requirements of the modern age.[2]

Thus the foundation of translating the Holy Qur'ān was laid by Shāh Walīyullāh. Following in the footsteps of his father, his elder son Shāh 'Abd-ul'Azīz made the translation of the first one-fourth of the second and of the last two parts of it. His commentary on them was fuller and to the taste of the people of his times. Shāh 'Abd-ul-Qādir translated the Holy Qur'ān into Urdu with brief comments and named it *Mūḍiḥ-i-Qur'ān*. Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn made a literal translation of it in Urdu. This is how the translation work started and continued. The Holy Qur'ān was brought near to the understanding of the masses and this was the chief purpose behind these translations.[3]

Shāh Walīyullāh has suggested guidelines for the study of the Holy Qur'ān. He says that it may be studied without consulting any commentary. If the learner were to find a difficulty in understanding some grammatical construction or the occasion of revelation it may be explained to him and then he may be left alone to think over it and derive the meaning himself. The reason he gave for it was that if the student was taught the Holy Qur'ān by means of a commentary, then that procedure will take away the whole of his time and he will have no occasion to think over the word of God independently.[4]

Besides, the emergence of wisdom contained in the Holy Qur'ān is not confined to one age, but it will go on unfolding itself right up to the Judgment Day. In this connection his eldest son, Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz giving his own personal impressions says, that the benefit and pleasure which he gets from the study of the Holy Qur'ān, he does not get from the studyof the Tradition, and during discussion on the Tradition he ('Abd-ul-'Azīz) simply told the learners, without any comments, what was written in the books.[5]

2. *Shāh Waliyullāh ki Ta'līm*, p. 5.
3. G.N. Jalbani, *Teachings of Shah Waliullāh*, pp. 143-44.
4. Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī, *Qur'ān Pāk kā Muṭali'ah Kaisay Kiyā Jā'ey*, p. 33.
5. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*.

Unlike the course current in those days, Shāh Walīyullāh used to teach the Holy Qur'ān first and the Tradition afterwards. It was the right course as the Holy Qur'ān is the real source of guidance the people always stand in need of. The preliminaries necessary to be known, he says, for the study of the Holy Qur'ān may be treated as preliminaries and need not be studied exhaustively. He was opposed to the hard and rigid rules fixed by the *'Ulamā'* for the study of the Holy Qur'ān.[6]

To judge the validity of the Book as to whether it is wholly Divine or not, he points out, the presence of two things is absolutely necessary. One is that a person who will read that Book and work for the dissemination of its teachings will be blessed and he will win the pleasure of God. The other is that those who will follow that Book will be Divinely supported in their committing it to memory, with the result that it will remain well preserved and guarded throughout the ages. Both these things are found in relation to the Holy Qur'ān only. Thus, the Holy Qur'ān is the only word of God. The Scriptures revealed before the Holy Qur'ān did contain some Divine words which the Prophets received directly from God, but they also contained the Divine proceedings (*Ilāhī Wāridāt*) which were disclosed to them and an account of their own personal sayings and doings. All this was collected after their death by their followers on the strength of their memory and independent thinking (*Ijtihād*). The place of those Scriptures is similar to one assigned by the Muslims to *Ṣāḥīḥ* of Bukhārī and *Ṣāḥīḥ* of Muslim. This is the reason why those Scriptures could not stand the passage of time and their adherents miserably failed to keep them secure.[7]

Tradition. The services which Shāh Walīyullāh rendered to

6. *Tafhimāt*, I, 214-15.

7. *Saṭa'āt*, *Saṭa'*21 :

کتب الاهی پیش از قرآن همه بروش حدیثی قدسی بوده اند - - - مانند صحیح بخاری ومسلم در ملت ما -

Maulānā 'Ubaidullah Sindhī, *Shāh Walīyulālh Aur Unki Siyāsi Taḥrīk*, pp. 58-59.

this science are valuable and unforgettable. It is an undeniable fact that he did all he could do in spreading the science of Tradition throughout the country and impressed upon the Muslims the importance and necessity of its study and its dissemination. In order to gain complete knowledge of it, he had gone to the holy land where his thirst for this science was adequately quenched. In connection with the proper study of the Tradition, he,therefore, prepared two commentaries on *al-Muwaṭṭā'* of Imām Mālik, a canonical record next to the Holy Qur'ān in authenticity and reliability. One is in Arabic named *al-Musawwā'* and the other is in Persian named *al-Muṣaffā'*. From practical point of view, both these commentaries are very informative and instructive, and, for a research scholar, it is but necessary to consult them as guides in understanding the import of various Traditions and for the solution of problems emerging from time to time.[8]

As many books are written on the Tradition and they also are not free from interpolations, he says that the Traditions may be classified in order of their correctness and acceptability. He, therefore, has placed *Muwaṭṭā'*, *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī and *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim in the first class. In the second class he has included *Jāmī'* of Tirmidhī, *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and *Sunan* of Nasā'i while the third class is assigned to Traditions which were no doubt narrated by the ancients but no care was taken in ascertaining their soundness. It is, therefore, advisable, he says, that the Traditions belonging to the first two classes be referred to and the rest ignored. The reason he gives for that is that books on Traditions included in the first and second classes are universally accepted as the correct records and that they are available almost everywhere and they can be studied without much loss of time. And if the Traditions outside these two classes are accepted, then the misguided groups can easily quote one or the

8 *Muṣaffā'* :

- - وبقینی معلوم شد که امروز هیچ کتابی از کتب فقه اقوی از موطا نیست-

other Tradition from them in support of their wrong beliefs. Besides, the scholars of Traditions have refused to accept as an authority those Traditions which are not covered by the first two classes.[9]

By such classification of the Traditions Shāh Walīyullāh has certainly closed the door of that way of approach to this science which is not based on research and enquiry.[10]

In case of any conflict between the Traditions, he is of opinion that only that Tradition be followed which is found sound and correct from the transmission point of view (*Isnād*).[11]

Jurisprudence. Let it be remembered that Shāh Walīyullāh personally disliked the attitude of giving preference to one school over the other. He treated them all equally and tried to remove the differences wherever found. In this connection he strongly recommends the merging together of Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī schools. This in his opinion is the pressing requirement of the times. Both the Shāfi'ī and the Ḥanafī schools, he says, are very popular and their followers are in great numbers and the present age requires that they both be blended and made one. The problems in conflict between them, he suggests, may be referred to *al-Muwaṭṭā'* of Imām Mālik. Its decision may be accepted as final as it is the just arbitrator to settle the issues in question. The reason is that after the Holy Qur'ān, *Muwaṭṭā'* is the most correct record of Traditions and during research on the science and literature of Tradition, it is very necessary to consult it, as, without consulting it, he says, the door of independent thinking (*Ijtihād*) is completely closed at present.[12]

In case where certain problems may be found conflicting with each other, his advice is always to follow that problem which may be found strong in point of attribution to the clear and

9. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 133-35.

10. Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhi, *Shāh Walīyullāh Aur Unkā Falsafah*, pp. 97-120.

11. *Kalimāt Ṭayyibāt*, p. 161 ; *Tafhīmāt*, I, 211-12.

12. *Inṣāf* ; *Tafhīmāt*, I, 211-12 ; II, 202 ; *al-Muṣaffā*.

famous Tradition.[13]

He has, however, made this matter abundantly clear that all the four schools of thought are right and correct. Their difference in the bye-laws is not a matter to be seriously considered in view of their unanimity on principles and many other problems of outstanding importance. The community must maintain its unity and solidarity and should not allow these petty differences to come in that way.

Taṣawwuf. In this connection Shāh Walīyullāh says that to possess the attributes of the Ṣūfīs is a great fortune, but their practices in general are of no use. He, therefore, dislikes the participation of every rank and file in attempting to achieve the states of annihilation (*Fanā'*) and survival (*Baqā'*) and remarks that it is a disease which has affected the community. Efforts should be made in right earnest to root out this disease. Similarly, he observes that the writings of *Taṣawwuf* are, no doubt, an alchemy for the select, but for the masses they are a killing poison. Making this matter clearer further, he says that to achieve annihilation and survival and some such states of self-purification are desired only in relation to some persons who possess the required capability for that achievement, but to lead life in this way, namely, in detachment and isolation (as is led by the Ṣūfīs), is not the injunction of the Law (*Sharī'ah*). The Law does not enjoin upon its followers to become Ṣūfīs. The speech of the Law-giver is quite clear in this respect and bears no relation whatsoever to the technicalities of the Ṣūfīs directly or indirectly (by which they find a justification for the ṣūfistic way of living).[14]

As is known, much confusion was created by the Ṣūfīs in the

13. *Kalimāi-i-Ṭayyibāt*, p. 161:
- - - و آنکه گفتم که امروز طریق اجتهاد مسدود است الا ازین جهت (که موطا با پیش نگیرد) بسبب آن است که صرف احادیث جمیع احکام راکفایت نمی کند - - - و حالا هیچ کتابی که مخدوم باشد و نظر مجتهدا نه در آن کرده باشد طبقة بعد طبقة غیر موطا نیست -

14. *Waṣiyat Nāmāh.*

different ways they had interpreted and described one and the same reality. They in their discussion had mixed up one reality with the other and had given one and the same name to it. That, however, had been their old habit. Shāh Walīyullāh cleared that confusion and placed every word at its proper place and every reality at its suitable site. This was the rich service which he rendered to Ṣūfism. The readers are instructed to see his book *Alṭāf-ul-Quds* in this connection.[15]

Besides outward faculties, such as the faculty of heart, the faculty of brain and the faculty of liver, there are inward faculties in man, and they are called *Laṭā'if*. Thus, there is in him the faculty of reason (*Latīfah-i-'Aql*), the faculty of heart (*Laṭīfah-i-Qalb*) and the faculty of the mind (*Laṭīfah-i-Nafs*). Shāh Walīyullāh, in addition to these three, believes in the presence of the fourth faculty as well, which he names as the faculty of the limbs (*Laṭīfah-i-Jawāriḥ*). In giving an explanation of this faculty he says that when the faculties of man such as the faculty of heart, the faculty of reason and the faculty of mind become the pivot for the activities of the faculty of limbs of the body and the functions of the limbs become complete by that or, in other words, when all the efforts and functions of the heart, the reason and the mind are lost in the functions of the limbs, then the state created and the quality produced at that time is called the faculty of the limbs. The injunctions of the Law (*Sharī'ah*), according to him, have connection with this *Laṭīfah*, and the man will be asked in the Hereafter to give account of his actions in relation to this *Laṭīfah* only. Shāh Walīyullāh further writes that, in order to explain to him the reality of this *Laṭīfah*, once a camel was shown to him which was on the verge of death, and save moving had no energy left in it. It went on moving till it fell down and died. By this kind of its death he was told that, that camel was lost in its *Laṭīfah-i-Jawāriḥ*.[16] The late Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh always used to say that it behoves man to work for

15. *Alṭāf-ul-Quds*, p. 106. 16. Ibid, p 30.

good continuously like that camel which continued moving till it died. No moment of life be left without some piece of work having been done in it and the man should always keep himself busy in doing deeds of goodness.

Explaining the significance of man's union with God, he says that in the beginning when God created the Great Body (*Shakhṣ Akbar*, Universe) it imagined in the brain the picture of its creator. That drawn picture of God was similar to the picture of the person of God. This drawn and imagined picture is always present in the brain of the Great Body, and does not disappear from it for a moment. When man reforms both his outward and inward faculties, his connection, by means of the Great Body, gets established with God's Great Manifestation (*Tajjalī A'ẓam*) which is the true reflection of God's person. It is reflected upon the (Great Body's) heart and brain continuously. A man is a part of the Great Body, and the part one day will return to its whole and become one with it, then, through that, his connection with the Creator will be established, and this is the meaning of man's Union with God.[17]

Besides, he rendered useful service to the rational science as well. He prepared important compositions for that. As a result of it, doubts raised by the rationalists about the truth of religion were removed. The explanation given by him with regard to the attributes of God and the nature of the creation as to how it came into being is extremely clear and appealing to reason. What chiefly characterises his philosophy is that he has brought it near to the understanding of the common man, with the result that the non-material realities appear as clear to him as the material ones. He had the art to present the non-material in the shape of the material. This is the reason why his grandson Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd reckoned him as the best interpreter in giving the exposition of the realities and gave him preference over Shaikh Akbar Ibn-ul-'Arabī and Imām Rabbānī. His two small treatises *Lamaḥat* and *Saṭa'āt* give the desired guidance in

17. *Saṭa'āt*, *Saṭa'* 28.

that direction.[18]

In the knowledge of the natural philosophy and Godhead, says Sayyid 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, Shāh Walīyullāh has excelled both Fārābī and Ibn Sinā.[19]

18. *Al-Badūr-ul-Bāzighah*, p. 40 ; *'Abaqāt*, p. 3.

19. 'Abd ul Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, *ath-Thaqāfat-ul-Islāmiyah Fi'l-Hind*, p. 264.

Chapter 6

SHĀH WALĪYULLĀH, A REVOLUTIONARY

Let it be remembered that Shāh Waliyullāh was a revolutionary first and then something else. If a man after having read his works has not arrived at this conclusion, he has not understood him properly.

When civilisation and culture make considerable advancement the society starts to rot and corrupt in many ways. The reins of the government go into the hands of the unworthy and wealth happens to move alternately from one rich person to the other rich person, with the result that the poor, the helpless and the labour class are hit hard and deprived of their due rights. This state of affairs, says Shāh Walīyullāh, creates unrest and incites the people to revolt. Here Shāh Walīyullāh says that when the conditions were so to deteriorate that the government fails to meet the bare necessities of life of its subjects, it becomes necessary for them to work and avail of all possible means for the overthrow of that corrupt government. The sacrifices made in this respect, he tells, are counted among the best of actions. Tracing the factors leading towards the revolution, he narrates that in the beginning protests and demonstrations are made against it, followed by meetings and gatherings, then the voice is raised to condemn the government both in the press and from the platform. Finally a direct action is taken against it and a severe fight is fought with it till it is overthrown. He warns that if such unjust and dictatorial order is allowed to continue for long, it will prove like a cancer in the body of men which, if not cut out from its very root in time, will go on spreading in the body till it becomes rotten.[1]

1. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 45-50 ; II, 71, 170-71.
- - المدن الفاسدة يغلب عليها نفوس سبعية و يكون لهم تمنع شديد انما هوبمنزلة الاكلة فى بدن‌الانسان لا يصح الا نسان الا بقلعه -

It must be borne in mind, he says, that the revolution cannot be broght by mere talks, prayers and pious hopes. For that, people will have to give their blood, will have to work ceaselessly and sometimes to undergo the hardships of exilement. But by revolution, Shāh Walīyullāh means, that form of revolution which may bring peace and prosperity and not the one which may bring in its wake insecurity and chaos in the country. The sum and substance of his teachings and philosophy is to break the old order and replace it by a new one which may satisfy the requirements of the changing times. Until and unless the old order is substituted by the new, progressive one, there will be no proper development in the various fields of life. The Prophets who were sent by God were revolutionaries. Had they not been revolutionaries, there would have been no opposition to them. But, because they wanted to introduce the Law, their people did not like this and they thus rose against them. The Prophet Jesus who was an emblem of mercy and kindness had also enjoined upon his followers always to keep their swords sharp and ready for fight in self-defence.[2]

It is for this reason that he emphasises the necessity of the continuation of *Jihād*, and by *Jihād*, he generally meant revolution (*Inqilāb*). He strongly recommends the retention of the spirit of *Jihād* for all times to come. So long as this spirit, he says, was present in the Muslims, they remained victorious and, were honoured everywhere, but no sooner it disappeared from them than they were humiliated and hated wherever they were. He tells that in the existing times, the Muslims should in no way neglect the sacred duty of *Jihād*, as such neglect in turn amounts to the loss of abundant good.[3]

Shāh Walīyullāh, in order to show the superiority of *Jihād* and its excellence, has been frequently quoting the Qur'ānic

2. Ibid., II, 171, 172; *Tafhīmāt*, II, 160.
3. *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 171 :
... التقاعد عن الجهاد فی مثل هذا الزمان تفویتا لخیرالکثیر۔

verses and the Traditions one after another. The Perfect Law, he says, is one which commands its followers for *Jihād*, because a law which does not make binding for its followers the fighting (*Jihād*) for the sake of God and the raising of His word will ultimately fail to bring the desired good and benefit for men. Bearing this point in view, he recommends that the Muslims should make their worldly life strong and prosperous and appeals to them to make themselves so strong militarily that the enemy's sudden and unexpected attack be effectively repelled and its power completely crushed. For that he has been repeatedly advising in his works that full and adequate preparations for both defence and offence against aggression be made without loss of time. People should be given military training and made acquainted with the modern technique of warfare. They should be armed with the latest and the most destructive weapons of fight available in the world. The spirit of *Jihād* should be infused in them to such an extent that they should become an embodiment of *Jihād* itself. A nation which is empty of the spirit of *Jihād* and is unwilling to give life in fight is indeed not fit to live and such a nation could not survive for long. In reality, the writings of Shāh Walīyullāh are replete with lessons of *Jihād*. A man who has not learnt that lesson from them has not understood him at all.[4]

The word *Jihād* has different shades of meaning. It does not only mean the actual fight with the enemy, making preparations in advance against any possible aggression, but it also means a fight against all evils whether they be social, economic, moral or political. This is the reason that he is always encouraging and inciting the people to launch a vigorous fight against the corrupt order and rotten society till the rule of justice is established.[5]

The truth is that the incentive of *Jihād* was present in the whole family of Shāh Walīyullāh. When one looks at the life of his father, grandfather and the paternal uncle, this reality be-

4. Ibid., II, 173.
5. Ibid., II, 171, 173 ; *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 4.

comes visibly clear. Even though his father Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Raḥīm was a mystic through and through and spent his life in observing the practices of the mystics, the incentive of *Jihād* was strong in him. A proof of this can be seen from his letters, copies of which are most probably still extant in the library of the Osmania University of Hyderabad Deccan (India). He, in one of these letters, had encouraged Niẓām-ul-Mulk 'Aṣif Jāh for fight against the Marathas. About him, Shāh Walīyullāh states that, in addition to other excellent qualities, he possessed the qualities of gallantry and bravery.[6]

His grandfather Shaikh Wajīh-ud-Dīn spent his life in fighting against the enemies of Islam. One day, in the mosque, he saw in his prostration, the ranks of the martyrs. When he rose from his prostration and came to his senses, he longed for the acquisition of those ranks. Accordingly, he made due preparations for fight. He saddled his horse, armed himself with the available weapons, and in the company of his sincere followers set out for the Deccan, the southern side of India, and laid his life in the way in his fight with the unbelievers. Shāh Walīyullāh states that by narrating such stories of gallantry and bravery of his forefathers, his intention is to remind his family to follow their course. His descendants inherited this spirit of *Jihād* and his grandson Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd, in his fight with the Sikhs, had fallen a martyr at Balakot in 1831.[7]

Shāh Walīyullāh was outspoken and fearless. He always said the right thing whether anyone liked it or not. When he translated the Holy Qur'ān in Persian, the narrow-minded people raised a hue and cry against him. About a hundred such persons once assembled in the Fatehpuri mosque of Delhi and encircled him with the intention of harming him. Shāh Walīyullāh, on that occasion, had a small band of his followers round him and had an ordinary rod in his hand. Raising the slogan *Allāh Akbar* he turned upon them with that rod and penetrating through them

6. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 85. 7. Ibid.

turned upon them with that rod and penetrating through them came out of the mosque safely. He severely criticised and exposed the so-called learned and the Ṣūfīs of his times and clearly pointed out their ignorance and folly. He did not spare the ruling clique, criticised its policy and did not care for the consequences.[8]

Here the question arises that when the teachings of Shāh Walīyullāh are replete with infusing the spirit of *Jihād* into the minds of the Muslims, and are encouraging the Muslims for making preparations for fight and are insisting upon them to retain that spirit aglow for all times, then what was the reason that he himself did not take part in *Jihād*. If for argument's sake we accept the view that the conditions were not conducive for him to take up arms and participate in the *Jihād* personally, there again the question arises why he is not applying the same rule in the case of others ? The reply given by him is satisfactory. He says that if the times required the good of the people through the waging of war, then God would certainly make such an inspiration into the heart of His chosen one. In consequence, he will work in that direction and in his fight with the enemies will render such exploits that the heroic works done by Rustam and Isfandiyār will pale into insignificance before them. But, he says, God at times completes the mission of the reformation of the people through the pen of His servant.[9]

In this connection he explains that the caliphate (rulership) of the Holy Prophet was of two aspects. One was external and the other internal. The duty of the rulers of the external aspect is to establish political stability and just order in the country so that there should be no insecurity and disturbance anywhere, while the reigns of the internal caliphate are given to those who always work for strengthening the religion and the good and welfare of the people, and they do this work through their writings

8. Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 418-22; *Ḥujjatullāh*, II, 105.
9. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 101.

and preaching. He says that he had been given the reins of the internal caliphate.[10]

As is seen, in the modern age people are generally inclined to note that the law does not conflict with plain reason ; if they find that it conflicts with it, then they are not convinced by it. Thus, keeping that tendency of people in view, he began to unravel the wisdom underlying religious injunctions and in that direction he did what his predecessors could not do. The explanation of the imposition of religious injunctions given by him removed the doubts of people and convinced them of the truth of religion. This is the reason why he, in his autobiography *al-Jūz'-ul-Laṭīf*, has said that he has been raised for the scientific age and to him are entrusted the reins of the future. It behoves the searchers of truth to study his *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah* and estimate the value of the contribution he has made towards the science of religion.[11]

Shāh Walīyullāh was the reformer (*Mujaddid*) of his time, as, nearly a hundred years before him, Imām Rabbānī was the reformer of his age. Among the ancients, Imām Bukhārī and Imām Muslim in particular had risen to the rank of reformers and had rendered such services to the promotion of the cause of religion. But when the dawn of science and philosophy ushered, Shāh Walīyullāh was chosen as a reformer, and he, therefore, presented religion in its true form through the medium of his pen.[12]

Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, giving his opinion about Shāh Walīyullāh, says that if he had flourished in the distant past, he would have surely been given the title of *Imām* and would even have been counted as the chief head of the *Imāms*.[13]

At one place, Shāh Walīyullāh says that he was the agent of the Prophet Joseph who had been given wisdom and understand-

10. Ibid., I, p. 13.
11. *As-Sirr-ul-Maktūm*.
12. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 40.
13. Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān of Bhopal was a great learned scholar. He died in 1890.

ing. As is known, the Prophet Joseph, serving as a minister for finance, under an infidel ruler, had changed the whole pattern of the administration and given it Islamic shape. The teachings of Shāh Walīyullāh also give the needed guidance to the Muslims if they happen to be the subjects of an alien ruler, for the part they should play and the way they should adjust themselves to the new conditions, to serve the religion of Islam and the community as far as it may be practicable. Unfortunately, his aspirations could not materialise in his lifetime. The Muslims turned their backs to his teachings and this deeply injured his feelings. To that lamentable state he refers in these words :

> We are departing but are leaving behind sciences which
> Because of their being neglected
> Are weeping as bitterly as those mothers weep who are
> Deprived of their only children.[14]

14. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 88, 220 ; *Qaṣidah-i-Lāmiyah* :

رحلنا و خلفنا العلوم بغربة . تنوح كما ناح النساء الثواكل

Chapter 7

DISTINGUISHING QUALITIES

Shāh Walīyullāh possessed some qualities peculiar to him. One of them was his ability of discrimination. By it, he was able to discriminate between right and wrong. He clearly separated the original words and deeds of the Holy Prophet from those erroneously attributed to him. He established the validity of the religious tenets as professed by the Sunnites (*Ahl-i-Sunnah*) with strong proofs and at the same time exposed the weakness found in the interpretations made by the rationalists about them. By so doing he rendered the course of study simple for both the initiate and the advanced.[1]

The other chief quality which distinguishes him from the rest is his resolving the differences between the apparently conflicting reports and his effecting an agreement between them. In this respect he has done what his predecessors and successors had failed to do. His services in this field are of far-reaching consequences. To give preference to one view over the other may appeal the presumption, but it in no way brings satisfaction to the parties. However, if some form of an agreement is found on the problems in dispute, then both the parties will be satisfied and their mutual differences will disappear. It is indeed the pressing need of the modern times and it is reckoned as a great achievement if international disputes are amicably settled and differences between the parties are satisfactorily resolved.[2]

Here is an example of his way of bringing about an agreement between the views seemingly in clash.

According to the Law, if a person commits a great sin and dies

1. *Tafhīmāt*, II, 15 ; *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf.*
2. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 40.

without repentance, he deserves punishment for that. Similarly, if a man dies without making payment of the debt due to him, he too is punishable in the eye of Law. Both, in the Holy Qur'ān and the Tradition, it is mentioned that God can forgive such sinners if He so liked. In resolving that difference Shāh Walīy-ullāh says that when there is an apparent difference in the text itself, some way may be found out to remove that difference ; and that way is that we should remember that God generally follows the usual course in His working in the Universe, but in certain cases He adopts the unusual course. As such, there is reason to believe that if God wills to forgive them, He will do so by following the unusual course (*Kharq-i-'Ādat*). There are a large number of such instances in the Tradition.[3]

This quality of bringing about *rapprochement* in the differing reports is prominently seen in the family of Shāh Walīyullāh. His father Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥim was a dervish by nature and had little connection with worldly affairs. It is narrated that once in a gathering of the educated, someone after reciting the following verse of Ḥāfiẓ :

Today, when Your Splendour is clear even without a veil,
I wonder, for what is held out the promise of tomorrow ?[4]

said that according to what is written in the religious books it is impossible to see God in this material world, but this verse seemed going against it. A lengthy discussion ensued on this vexing question till in the end they decided to refer the matter to Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm for solution. The Shaikh told them that both the parties were agreed on the point, that God is to be veiled (*Muḥtajib*) but is not veiled (*Maḥjūb*). Khwājah Ḥāfiẓ, out of his longing, says that when God is not veiled and nothing veils Him from us save our own selves, and to remove those veils of our

3. *Ḥusn-ul-'Aqidah.*

4.

امروز چون جمال تو بی پرده ظاهر است
در حیرتم که وعدهٔ فردا برائے چیست

selves is also in His power, then why He is not showing Himself to us in this world ? On hearing this explanation, both the parties were satisfied and the confusion was cleared away.[5]

The other distinguishing quality of Shāh Walīyullāh was the comprehensiveness of his nature. This is the reason why he, on account of that quality, was able to accommodate the contraries and, thus, effect conformity between the seemingly opposite cases. For example, he was personally inclined to giving preference to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī over other Caliphs, but he was restrained through an inspiration from giving practical shape to that inclination. In consequence, he prepared his work *Qurrat-ul-'Ainain Fī Tafḍīl-ish-Shaikhain*, and it was the result of his comprehensive nature that afforded room to the issues in clash.

Some difference in his sayings is noticed in some of his writings. He acknowledges it, but takes it as the outcome of his comprehensiveness. This difference is, however, not so great internally as it appears in the external. The truth is that, if his sayings be looked into from different angles, they will be found agreeing to reason, tradition and intuition.[6]

Shāh Walīyullāh was broadminded and tolerant by birth. He listened to everyone who wanted to ask him a question or desired to discuss with him a certain problem, as he had full confidence in himself in giving the right reply to the questioner and in convincing the party that took part in discussion. And because of this quality he succeeded in resolving the difference between the reports in conflict. Thus, the two parties at variance were reconciled. When he was giving lessons on religious matters, he always used to lay emphasis on those points on which there was unanimity among the four schools of thought, particularly among the Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī schools, as they were comparatively more popular and commanded large following. This is the reason why hisfollowers and admirers are also found to be broadminded and

5. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn* p. 68.
6. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 33; *Tafhīmāt*, I, 83.

tolerant.[7]

His standard for judging religious issues was the Holy Qur'ān and the sound Tradition. He was of opinion that every problem for dispute should be thoroughly analysed and tested on the touchstone of the Holy Qur'ān and the sound Tradition. If it be found in conformity with them, it should be accepted, otherwise it should be rejected outright. As he himself was an independent thinker, it was not permissible for him to follow anyone blindly. This is why he was against blind imitation and was not bound to follow any *Imām* in all his problems. This quality of his was in perfect agreement with the spirit of the Law and was the strong requirement of his sound reason.[8]

Shāh Walīyullāh was free from prejudice and had no dislike for anyone. Consequently all his writings and utterances are free from any admixture of prejudice and dislike. He strictly followed the course of equity and justice both in word and deed. He always spoke what was true and correct, as that was part of his nature. It is, however, a different matter if he, on that account, be called prejudiced.

He had mastery over both the languages, Arabic and Persian. He has explained every point, however difficult and obscure, very clearly and in the simplest possible way. His sayings, writings and the style he employed were all above ambiguity and equivocation He has taken care to avoid the use of unfamiliar words and phrases. His composition is strong and firm and at certain places there is a marked brevity in it, the words used are few and the meaning implied is abundant. This brevity is the chief characteristic of his work *Ta'wīl-ul-Aḥādīth.* He has so vividly expressed the varying shades of emotions and feelings of the hearts of people that one is surprised to see such tremendous power of his expression. This quality of psychoanalysis has singled him out from the rest. As he was well acquainted with different sciences, he was able to convince his adversary and

7. *Tafhimāt*, II, 422.

8. Abd-ul-Ḥayy al-Ḥusainī, *Ath-Thaqāfat-ul-Islāmiyah Fil-Hind*, p. 139.

show him the truth of the stand taken by him.[9]

His religious knowledge in particular was up to the required standard. He was well aware of the four schools of the *Imāms* in detail. He knew fully well the problems they have differed in and the causes of their difference as well, and knew also how an agreement could be effected between them. He was of opinion that these seemingly external differences deserve no serious consideration, as after thorough examination they do not stand as real. In his *'Iqd-ul-Jīd* he has proved the soundness of all the four schools and in so doing he has certainly brought to an end the consequential (*furū'ī*) problems, namely, the bye-laws.

Shāh Walīyullāh was expert in laying the foundation of the principles and basing upon them their consequences and, in so doing, in bringing the evidences in support of them both from reason and tradition. The multiplicity of consequences, the variety of inferences made and the widening range of difference between the different scholars of religion in no way hindered him from following the right, middle course and arriving at correct conclusions, the reason being that he was extraordinarily bright, mentally sharp-minded and the most intelligent, and, besides, was divinely supported in understanding the wisdom behind the injunctions of Law.[10]

There are, however, certain problems which had not been discussed threadbare by the dialecticians (*Mutakallimūn*). There are some problems for which no investigation had been made. The fact is, he says, that there were clear references about them in the text. The sayings and doings of the Companions and their immediate followers are there to give required guidance in that connection. In spite of that, they escaped serious consideration of the ancients. Shāh Walīyullāh has discussed such problems in detail and brought out the truth behind them. Some such problems are : the seeing of God on the Judgment Day in different

9. *Tafhīmāt*, I, 124-25. *Malfūẓāt-i-'Azīziyah*:

. . . لأنه بنى طريقته على عرض المجتهدات على الكتاب و السنة . . .

10. *Ḥujjatullāh, Muqaddimah*,

forms and shapes, the existence of a (non-material) world in the Universe in which ideas (*Ma'ānī*, meanings) and actions are taking suitable forms, and in that world all the events are appearing first before their appearance in this world of matter, and that world is called the Similitudinary World (*'Ālam-i-Mithāl*). And that the actions of men have direct connection with their spiritual aspects they have given rise to, and, in reality, those very spiritual aspects become the cause of their reward and punishment in both the worlds.[11]

Shāh Walīyullāh always followed the course of moderation in all matters, religious as well as worldly. That had been his habit throughout his life. By nature he was opposed to excess and exaggeration. Even otherwise, he says that it is not good behaviour to go very deep in matters of religion and observe undue regidity in the practice. It is therefore that he condemns the attitude of a ṣūfī who does not care for the observance of religious duties and vainly attempts at finding out one or other lame excuse for evasion. Similarly, he prevents people from association with the rationalist (*Ma'qūlī*) who is not prepared to obey the command of God and is all the time busy in creating confusion and doubt in their minds about the truth of Islam. Likewise he has warned them against following such a theologian who blindly clings to obsolete words and deeds of the past and is not disposed to go by the clear instructions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). Further, he has cautioned them against emulating the way of life led by rigid ascetics. He practices too much rigidity in the observance of the injunctions of Law, as if there were no facilities provided by the *Sharī'ah*. He wants to overcome *Sharī'ah* but will never succeed in that. In addition to these, he also prevent people from the company of a wealthy person who goes in excess in imitating the customs and systems of the aliens and gladly accepts their ideas and theories.[12]

11. Ibid.
12. Maulānā Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, pp. 521-31.

The other quality distinguishing Shāh Walīyullāh from the rest is his knowledge of the four perfections (*Kamālāt Arba'ah*, Attributes) of God. The perfections of God are beyond count, but His four perfections (attributes), namely, of Invention (*Ibdā'*), of Creation (*Khalq*), of Administration (*Tadbīr*) and of Descent (*Tadallī*) are such as to embrace all others. God works in the Universe through these four attributes. Prior to Shāh Walīyullāh no one seems to have spoken on them. As he was well informed of them, he has given their detailed account in his treatise *Lamaḥāt* in particular.[13]

The other quality singling out Shāh Walīyullāh is his knowledge of the different capabilities (*Isti'dādāt*) of the people. He is the first person to make an attempt at understanding and explaining this science. Traits of character and ranks of people differ with the difference of their natures (capabilities) they have been created upon. It is so, because, a man will do the actions which his nature will require. No two persons are found of one and the same nature. On account of that difference, the number of natures goes beyond computation. Shāh Walīyullāh has reduced that number and has roughly restricted it to eight only. When one reads the account of them as given by him one is enabled to determine the kind of nature one is created upon.[14]

Shāh Walīyullāh is of opinion that as the angelic faculty is present in every person irrespective of his caste, creed and colour, and it is also one of its requirements to have belief in the existence of God, all the people the world over can agree on this point, namely, that there is God and He is One. That angelic faculty also requires the doing of the deeds of virtue and avoiding every act of evil. The reformed people throughout the world, he says, are always in pursuit of virtuous deeds and are encouraging others for them, the reason being that they, through their worships and prayers, have come to recognise the reality that in virtue lies the

13. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif*; *Lamaḥāt, Lamḥah* 34; *'Abaqāt*, p. 47.
14. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭif*; *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 26-27; *Tafhimāt*, I, 125.

salvation of man and evil brings his doom. In short, Shāh Walīy-ullāh observes that so far as the principles of virtue and vice are concerned, all the people are agreed, and have differed only in their consequences. Shāh Walīyullāh is of view that even among the non-Muslims there are found such persons who, through worship, spiritual exercises and purification of their selves, have been able to reach the Ultimate Reality, but the number of such persons, according to him, is very small.[15]

While speaking on polytheism he has cited an example of his personal experience. He says that once he was shown a group of persons who were prostrating before a poisonous fly. That fly was moving its tail and wings. At that time he was inspired and asked to tell as to whether he saw the darkness of polytheism in them and as to whether evil had encompassed them from all sides as it had encompassed the idol-worshippers. He, in reply, said that he did not find such thing in them, because they had taken the fly as a direction for the Reality and not the Reality itself. He was then told that he had understood this secret.[16]

The Divine Attributes, when they represent themselves, do so in the shape of a circle. In this connection narrating the story of his father, he says that he once told him that he had seen a great, strange phenomenon. He found that the life, knowledge and will and such other attributes of God, or he said, that the living, the knowing and the willing and such other Divine Names, were represented before him in a brighty shining circle. At that time he was told that the simple thing (Reality) takes that form in the material world which happens to be near to the point. Such a thing in this place is a circle and in the matter is a sphere. In any

15. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 51-52:

- - - و يكون منهم على طرف شامخ و صقع بعيد و هذا هوالذى يرومه -
المتألهون من الحكماء و المجذبون من الصوفية فوصل بعضهم غاية
مداها وقليل ماهم - - - -

16. Ibid., II, 161.

case it has been the course of Divinity that Unity appears in Plurality by means of similitudinary connections, and then on the basis of these connections the events take place in similitudinary forms.[17]

17. Ibid , I, 100 ; *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 36.

Chapter 8

LAST WORD

Shāh Walīyullāh spent the whole of his life in the service of religion. His services rendered to religion are fully recognised. He lifted the thick veils of untruth which had covered and disfigured the real shape of Islam after the first two centuries. All his efforts were directed to bringing the Muslims closer and to effecting unity and discipline among them. In *Sharī'ah*, he says, nothing is so important and of far-reaching consequences as unity and discipline. That is why he has advised the Muslims to remain away from such activities as may become the cause of some rift and disintegration of the community.[1]

His sole anxiety all the time had been to see the Muslims as powerful and strong as to withstand the opposition of all the hostile forces combined. Though the overthrow of the Roman and Persian Empires during the reign of the first two Caliphs in a way amounted to world domination, he wants to see the Muslim domination perpetual and continuous, and that they should always remain the greatest power of the world. The truth is that Islam could assert its superiority with due justification only when the Muslims become an indefeatable nation and possess a very strong political power behind.[2]

In this connection, he says, it is the duty of all the Muslim nations wherever they are to come nearer to each other, close their ranks, and participate jointly in the various fields of life as far as it be practicable. This had been his anxiety and his aim in life. Would the future fulfil that aim? In the present times the conditions obtaining are rather favourable and this feeling among the Muslims is growing strong as time passes on,

1. *Qurrat-ul-'Ainain*, p. 59; *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*, Mashhad : 10, 30.
2. *Al-Budūr-ul-Bāzighah*, pp. 198-99.

namely, that they should come near to each other, sink their differences and work collectively and with cooperation, as on that depends their real survival and prosperity. He has spoken much on this topic under the heading *Irtifāqāt* (Socio-Economics) in his *Ḥujjatullāh-ul-Bālighah* in particular.

Shāh Walīyullāh had been fervently appealing to his co-religionists to live with amity and peace among themselves and keep away from all forms of hatred and spite. His desire was that there should be the rule of peace and security everywhere. Whenever he heard of some quarrel and fight among them, he felt deeply grieved. Once some persons entered into some quarrel. Hearing this he prayed to God for the end of that quarrel. His prayer was readily accepted and he actually saw with his eyes a bright similitudinary light descending from the Holy Fold (*Ḥaẓīrat-ul-Quds*) towards the earth. As it continued spreading, the quarrel continued subsiding correspondingly. We were still sitting, he says, in that gathering that the quarrelling parties were reconciled and embraced each other.[3]

Scenes of such kind Shāh Walīyullāh had seen many a time. He was actually seeing some of the events which were to happen, descending from the Holy Fold and then appearing in the world, and also the scenes of the acceptance of his prayers. At one place he writes that once a poor man came to him for the fulfilment of his need. He says that he at that time was inspired to the effect that if he fulfilled his need, God will give him a great reward in both the worlds. On this, he gave that poor man the thing he needed. And in consequence, he saw with his own eyes the fulfilment of God's promise by Him.[4]

He never aspired for any official post. Had he so desired he would have been given a very high post in the Government. The ruler of the country and Najīb-ud-Dawlah, the minister in particular who was all in all, held him in high esteem and there was regular correspondence going on between them. Whenever

3. *Ḥujjatullāh*, I, 66. 4. Ibid., I, 73-74.

Najib-ud-Dawlah found himself in some trouble or was threatened from some quarter, he consulted him about it. But as Shāh Walīyullāh was anxious to have complete knowledge of religious literature and was engaged in the teaching work which continued uninterruptedly and was afraid lest his time which was too precious may be wasted in vain, he gave up the idea of any Government service. To this fact he refers in the following verse.[5]:

"I have anxiety for acquisition of knowledge, for the burden of
Teaching work and of the fear of inactivity,
If I do not recklessly renounce these posts,
Then what should I do ?[5]

He had personal hatred towards show and artificiality. In all his dealings he was fair and unassuming. He spent his life in plain living and high thinking and was an exact copy of the practical life the Law has enjoined upon its followers to lead. His message was universal and meant for the whole of mankind. He had always in mind the good and welfare of the whole of humanity. He desired very much to see peace and harmony prevailing everywhere, and that all the nations the world over, despite colour and caste, should remain in security and prosperity.

Shāh Walīyullāh has written more in Persian than in Arabic. The reason is clear. Persian was the official language, spoken and understood everywhere. Besides, it is more simple than Arabic. It is not correct to think that he has repeated the topics under discussion in both the languages, so that one who knows only one language can understand him properly irrespective of the other language. There are certain subjects which have been discussed in detail in Persian, while in Arabic only a reference has been made to them in a few words. For example, in *Izālat-ul-Khafā'* he has discussed the problem of the Caliphate of the Orthodox Caliphs thoroughly well and has given a brief account of their life and works in the Persian language, while no such

5. *Kalīmāt-i-Ṭayyibāt*, p. 192:

غم تحصیل و بار شغل و درد عزل می بینم
جنون ترک منصب ها نمی کردم چه می کردم

elaborate account on this subject is found anywhere in his writings in Arabic. In like manner, he translated the Holy Qur'ān with brief commentary notes on it in the Persian language.

At certain places Shāh Walīyullāh has employed idioms and phrases which give an indication of the vast knowledge he possessed of both the languages. Besides, he possessed a fairly good knowledge of their literature as well. He knew Hindi as is evident by the following anecdote.

One day he found a Hindi *Dohira* in his father's special collection of writings. As examples of such cases were rarely mentioned by him, he enquired from him as to whether it was his composition. He replied to him in the affirmative and told him that it had been written by him.[6]

This shows that Shāh Walīyullāh was not simply conversant with the Hindi language but he knew it well. The mystical meaning implied in the *Dohira* could not otherwise be understood.[7]

He has quoted the Hindi *Dohiras* composed by his paternal uncle Shaikh Abū Riḍā' Muḥammad, but his quotation of them is suggestive of his having understood them.[8]

6. *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 83.

7. Ibid.

این فقیر روزی بیت بندی دوهره:

جب جیو نہ تھا تب پیو نہ تھا اب پیو ہے جیو ناتھ
رحیم پیاسوں یوں ملی جوں بوند سمندر ماتھ

بخط حضرت ایشان در مجموعہ خاصہ ایشان مرقوم دید؛ چون امثال این امور کم بیان می فرمودند تعجب کرد ، از حضرت ایشان پرسید کہ این بیت نظم حضرت است یا نہ؛ فرمودند نظم من امت و مرقوم بخط من -

8. Ibid., p. 93:

کنتھارن مرن تیہ کر کھاندا باہ نسنگہ
با مچہ چر بھی ژندا پانانچہ چڑھی کلنکه

* * *

جب لک نہ دیکھوں اپنی پتنا
تب لک نه بچوں کز کے بنتا

Both the *Dohiras* were cited by way of a proverb at two different occasion.

He (Abū Riḍā') knew Hindi very well. After Friday prayer he used to deliver a speech. He first mentioned three Traditions, gave their translation in Persian and then explained them in detail in the Hindi language.[9]

However, Shāh Walīyullāh has not written any book in the Hindi language. He was, as has been mentioned before, very proud and jealous of his Arab origin and of his knowledge of the Arabic langu-age.[10]

Shāh Walīyullāh knew prosody and the rules of poetry and has said verses both in Arabic and Persian In poetry he had selected "Amīn" as his *non-de-plume* which he seems to have adopted because of his close attachment with his bosom colleague Shaikh Muḥammad Amīn Kashmīrī. In spite of that, he cannot be called a poet. There is a great difference between one who is a born poet and the one who sings poetry after having learnt its rules.[11]

Here below is mentioned a specimen of some of his verses in Persian in which he has used one verse of the famous Persian poet 'Irāqī as an exordium and has explained its meaning in the following five verses, while in the last two verses he has hinted at other mystical points :[12]

نخستیں بادہ کاندر جام کردند　　مزاجش عکس آن گلفام کردند
ہویدا شد در امکان صورت حق　　بآن صورت جہاں را رام کردند
ہمی بایست تفصیلی ازاں روی　　مکارم را بما اتمام کردند
شراب وحدت از خمخانۂ غیب　　مرا صبح ازل در کام کردند

9 *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 90.
. . . بعد از ان بہندی و آنچہ مناسب آن احادیث می بود تقریر می کردند باعتدال نہ بمبالغہ -

10. *Waṣīyat Nāmah*, pp. 11-12 ; *Anfās-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 160.

11. *Al-Faḍl-ul-Mubīn Fīl-Musalsal Min Ḥadīth-in-Nabīy-il-Amīn*.
قال الفقیر ولی اللہ ولہ شعر و معرفۃ بالعروض والقافیہ و محسنات الشعر وأسالیب القصائد والغزل -

12 *Kalimāt-i-Ṭayyibāt*, p. 198 ; *al-Yāni' ul-Janni*.

چون غلطیدم ز مستیها بهر سو   حریفان مستی از من وام کردند
حقیقت را که مستور از نظر بود   بما بشهود خاص و عام کردند
پس آنگه موج دریا باز گردید   باتمام فنا اکرام کردند
'امین' رمزی دقیقی با تو گویم   بخود آغاز و نیز انجام کردند

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6. *Al-Budūr-ul-Bāzighah*
7. *Al-Khair-ul-Kathīr*
8. *At-Tafhīmāt-ul-Ilāhīyah*
9. *Fuyūḍ-ul-Ḥaramain*
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11. *Al-Musawwā*
12. *An-Nawādir Min Aḥādīth Sayyid-il-Awā'il wal-Awākhir*
13. *Al-Faḍl-ul-Mubīn Fil-Musalsal Min Ḥadīth-in-Nabīyil-Amīn*
14. *Ad-Durr-uth-Thamīn Fī Mubashshshārāt-in-Nabīy-il-Amīn*
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16. *Tarājim-ul-Bukhārī*
17. *Sharḥ Tarājim Ba'ḍ Abwāb-il-Bukhārī*
18. *Al-Inṣāf Fī Bayān Sabab-il-Ikhtilāf*
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20. *Iẓālat-ul-Khafā 'An Khilāfat-il-Khulafā'*
21. *Qurrat-ul-'Ainain Fī Tafḍīl-ish-Shaikhain*
22. *Al-Qaul-ul-Jamīl*
23. *Hama'āt*
24. *Saṭa'āt*
25. *Lamaḥāt*
26. *Alṭāf-ul-Quds*
27. *Ta'wīl-ul-Aḥādīth*
28. *Intibāh Fī Salāsil Auliyā' Allāh*

29. *As-Sirr-ul-Maktūm Fī Asbāb Tadwīn-il-'Ulūm*
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35. *'Aṭyab-us-Ṣamadīyah Fil-Anfās-il-Muḥammdīyah*
36. *Insān-ul-'Ain Fī Mashā'ikh-il-Ḥaramain*
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38. *Al-Juz'-ul-Laṭīf*
39. *Wasīyat Nāmah*
40. *Ḥusn-al-'Aqīdah*
41. *Risālat-i-Dānishmandī*
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43. *Aṭyab-un-Naghm Fī Madḥ Sayyid-il-'Arab wal-'Ajam*

Works by Shāh Walīyullāh's Descendants and His Father

1. *Anfās-i-Raḥīmīyah*, by Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm
2. *Irshād-i-Raḥīmīyah*, by Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm
3. *Malfūẓāt*, by Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz
4. *Muḍiḥ-i-Qur'ān*, by Shāh 'Abd-ul-Qādir
5. *'Abaqāt* by Shāh Ismā'īl Shahīd

Works by Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī

1. *Ilhām-ur-Raḥmān Fī Tāfsīr-il-Qur'ān*
2. *Qur'ān Pāk Kā Muṭāli'ah Kaisay Kiyā Jāey*
3. *Al-Maqām-ul-Maḥmūd*
4. *Shāh Walīyullāh Aur Un Kā Falsafah*
5. *Shāh Walīyullāh Aur Un Kī Siyasī Taḥrīk*

Miscellaneous

1. *Tadhkirah Shāh Walīyullāh* by Mānāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī
2. *Ḥayāt-i-Walī*, by Maulānā Raḥīm Bakhsh
3. *Rūd-i-Kauthar*, by Shaikh Muḥammad Ikrām

4. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir Wa Bahjat-ul-Masāmi' wan-Nawāẓir*, by 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī

5. *Ath-Thaqāfat-ul-Islāmiyah Fil-Hind*, by 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy al-Hasanī

6. *Shāh Wāliyullah Kay Siyāsī Maktūbat*, by Khaliq Aḥmad Niẓāmī

7. *Tadhkirah 'Ulamā'-i-Hindi* by Raḥmān 'Alī

8. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Deccan, October 1947 and July and October 1962 issues

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